

MULTIPLE RESOLUTIONS

MARKUP BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

**H.R. 1409, H.R. 3184, H.R. 3269, H. Res. 38,
H. Res. 388, H. Res. 409, H. Con. Res. 237,
H. Con. Res. 238, H.R. 1973, H. Con. Res. 195 and
H. Res. 316**

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MULTIPLE RESOLUTIONS

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2005

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Henry J. Hyde (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Chairman HYDE. Committee will come to order.

We have a series of noncontroversial bills on the agenda today, which can be dealt with by unanimous consent. And then we have three bills which we will mark up. Without objection, the Chairman is authorized to seek consideration under suspension of the rules of the following measures and the amendments, which the Members have before them, will be deemed adopted.

H.R. 1409 to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide assistance for orphans and other vulnerable children in developing countries, as amended. H.R. 3184, to ensure that countries that have signed a Small Quantities Property Protocol also sign, ratify, and implement the additional protocol and provide access by IAEA inspectors to their nuclear-related facilities, et cetera, et cetera.

H.R. 3269, to amend the International Organizations Immunities Act, to provide for the applicability of that Act to the bank for international settlements.

H. Res. 38, expressing support for the accession of Israel to the Organization For Economic Cooperation and Development, as amended.

H. Res. 388, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives, regarding the July, 2005 measures of extreme repression on the part of the Cuban Government against members of Cuba's pro democracy movement.

H. Res. 409, condemning the Government of Zimbabwe's operation Murambatsvina under which homes, businesses, religious structures and other buildings and facilities were demolished in an effort characterized by the Government of Zimbabwe as an operation to restore order in the country.

H. Con. Res. 237, expressing the sense of Congress welcoming President Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan to the United States on September 20, 2005, as amended.

And H. Con. Res. 238, honoring the victims of the Cambodian genocide, which took place from April, 1975 to January, 1979, as amended.

All Members will be permitted to insert remarks in the record on any of these measures.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the bill, H.R. 1973.

H.R. 1973, to make access to safe water and sanitation for developing countries a specific policy and objective of the United States foreign assistance programs for purposes of markup and move its favorable recommendation to the House. Without objection the bill will be considered as read and open for amendment as any point. And the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon for purposes of offering an amendment.

[The information referred to follows:]

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1973

To make access to safe water and sanitation for developing countries a specific policy objective of the United States foreign assistance programs, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 28, 2005

Mr. BLUMENAUER (for himself, Mr. SHAW, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. LEACH, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, and Mr. TANCREDI) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

A BILL

To make access to safe water and sanitation for developing countries a specific policy objective of the United States foreign assistance programs, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Water for the Poor
5 Act of 2005”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress makes the following findings:

1 (1) Water-related diseases are a human trag-
2 edy, killing up to 5 million people annually, pre-
3 venting millions of people from leading healthy lives,
4 and undermining development efforts.

5 (2) A child dies an average of every 15 seconds
6 because of lack of access to safe water and adequate
7 sanitation.

8 (3) In the poorest countries in the world, one
9 out of five children dies from a preventable, water-
10 related disease.

11 (4) Lack of access to safe drinking water, inad-
12 equate sanitation, and poor hygiene practices are di-
13 rectly responsible for the vast majority of diarrheal
14 diseases which kill over 2 million children each year.

15 (5) At any given time, half of all people in the
16 developing world are suffering from one or more of
17 the main diseases associated with inadequate provi-
18 sion of water supply and sanitation services.

19 (6) Over 1.2 billion people, one in every four
20 people in the developing world, lack access to safe
21 drinking water.

22 (7) Over 2.4 billion people, two in every five
23 people in the developing world, lack access to basic
24 sanitation services.

1 (8) Nearly 500 million people are affected by
2 water stress or serious water scarcity. Under current
3 trends, two-thirds of the world's population may be
4 subject to moderate to high water stress by 2025.

5 (9) Access to safe water and sanitation and im-
6 proved hygiene are significant factors in controlling
7 the spread of disease in the developing world and
8 positively affecting worker productivity and economic
9 development.

10 (10) Increasing access to safe water and sanita-
11 tion advances efforts toward other development ob-
12 jectives, such as fighting poverty and hunger, pro-
13 moting primary education and gender equality, re-
14 ducing child mortality, promoting environmental sta-
15 bility, improving the lives of slum dwellers, and
16 strengthening national security.

17 (11) Providing safe supplies of water and sani-
18 tation and hygiene improvements would save millions
19 of lives by reducing the prevalence of water-borne
20 diseases, water-based diseases, water-privation dis-
21 eases, and water-related vector diseases.

22 (12) Because women and girls in developing
23 countries are often the carriers of water, lack of ac-
24 cess to safe water and sanitation disproportionately

1 affects women and limits women's opportunities at
2 education, livelihood, and financial independence.

3 (13) Every \$1 invested in safe water and sani-
4 tation would yield an economic return of between \$3
5 and \$34, depending on the region.

6 (14) Developing sustainable financing mecha-
7 nisms, such as pooling mechanisms and revolving
8 funds, is necessary for the long-term viability of im-
9 proved water and sanitation services.

10 (15) The annual level of investment needed to
11 meet the water and sanitation needs of developing
12 countries far exceeds the amount of Official Develop-
13 ment Assistance (ODA) and spending by govern-
14 ments of developing countries, so facilitating and at-
15 tracting greater public and private investment is es-
16 sential.

17 (16) Meeting the water and sanitation needs of
18 the lowest-income developing countries will require
19 an increase in the resources available as grants from
20 donor countries.

21 (17) The long-term sustainability of improved
22 water and sanitation services can be advanced by
23 promoting community level action and engagement
24 with civil society.

1 (18) Target 10 of the United Nations Millen-
2 nium Development Goals is to reduce by half the
3 proportion of people without sustainable access to
4 safe drinking water by 2015.

5 (19) The participants in the 2002 World Sum-
6 mit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannes-
7 burg, South Africa, including the United States,
8 agreed to the Plan of Implementation of the World
9 Summit on Sustainable Development which included
10 an agreement to work to reduce by one-half “the
11 proportion of people who are unable to reach or af-
12 ford safe drinking water,” and “the proportion of
13 people without access to basic sanitation” by 2015.

14 (20) At the World Summit on Sustainable De-
15 velopment, the United States announced the Water
16 for the Poor Initiative, committing \$970 million for
17 fiscal years 2003 through 2005 to improve sustain-
18 able management of fresh water resources and accel-
19 erate and expand international efforts to achieve the
20 goal of cutting in half by 2015 the proportion of
21 people who are unable to reach or to afford safe
22 drinking water.

23 (21) United Nations General Assembly Resolu-
24 tion 58/217 (February 9, 2004) proclaimed “the pe-
25 riod from 2005 to 2015 the International Decade for

1 Action, ‘Water for Life’, to commence on World
2 Water Day, 22 March 2005” for the purpose of in-
3 creasing the focus of the international community on
4 water-related issues at all levels and on the imple-
5 mentation of water-related programs and projects.

6 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

7 It is the sense of Congress that—

8 (1) in order to make the most effective use of
9 amounts of Official Development Assistance (ODA)
10 for water and sanitation and avoid waste and dupli-
11 cation, the United States should seek to establish in-
12 novative international coordination mechanisms
13 based on best practices in other development sectors;

14 (2) the United States should greatly increase
15 the amount of Official Development Assistance made
16 available to carry out section 104D of the Foreign
17 Assistance Act of 1961, as added by section 4(a) of
18 this Act;

19 (3) United States water and sanitation assist-
20 ance programs should reflect an appropriate balance
21 of grants, loans, investment insurance, loan guaran-
22 tees, and other assistance to ensure affordability and
23 equity in the provision of access to safe water and
24 sanitation for the very poor;

1 (4) United States water and sanitation assist-
2 ance programs, to the extent possible, should sup-
3 port the poverty reduction strategies of recipient
4 countries;

5 (5) United States water and sanitation assist-
6 ance programs should promote community-based ap-
7 proaches in the provision of affordable and equitable
8 access to safe water and sanitation, including the in-
9 volvement of civil society; and

10 (6) protecting the supply and availability of safe
11 water requires sound environmental management.

12 **SEC. 4. ASSISTANCE TO PROVIDE SAFE WATER AND SANI-**
13 **TATION.**

14 (a) IN GENERAL.—Part I of the Foreign Assistance
15 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.) is amended by in-
16 serting after section 104C the following new section:

17 **“SEC. 104D. ASSISTANCE TO PROVIDE SAFE WATER AND**
18 **SANITATION.**

19 “(a) PURPOSES.—The purposes of assistance author-
20 ized by this section are—

21 “(1) to promote good health, economic develop-
22 ment, poverty reduction, women’s empowerment, and
23 environmental sustainability by providing assistance
24 to expand access to safe water and sanitation, pro-

1 moting integrated water resource management, and
2 improving hygiene for people around the world;

3 “(2) to seek to reduce by one-half from the
4 baseline year 1990 the proportion of people who are
5 unable to reach or afford safe drinking water and
6 the proportion of people without access to basic sani-
7 tation by 2015;

8 “(3) to focus water and sanitation assistance
9 toward the countries and people with the greatest
10 need;

11 “(4) to promote affordability and equity in the
12 provision of access to safe water and sanitation for
13 the very poor, women, and other vulnerable popu-
14 lations;

15 “(5) to promote long-term sustainability in the
16 affordable and equitable provision of access to safe
17 water and sanitation through the creation of innova-
18 tive financing mechanisms such as national revolving
19 funds, and by strengthening the capacity of recipient
20 governments and communities to formulate and im-
21 plement policies that expand access to safe water
22 and sanitation in a sustainable fashion, including se-
23 curing loans and strategic planning;

24 “(6) to secure the greatest amount of resources
25 possible, encourage private investment in water and

1 sanitation infrastructure and services, particularly in
2 lower middle-income countries, without creating
3 unsustainable debt for low-income countries or
4 unaffordable water and sanitation costs for the very
5 poor; and

6 “(7) to promote the capacity of recipient gov-
7 ernments to provide affordable, equitable, and sus-
8 tainable access to safe water and sanitation.

9 “(b) AUTHORIZATION.—To carry out the purposes of
10 subsection (a), the President is authorized to furnish as-
11 sistance for programs in developing countries to provide
12 affordable and equitable access to safe water and sanita-
13 tion.

14 “(c) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Assistance provided
15 under subsection (b) shall, to the maximum extent prac-
16 ticable, be used to—

17 “(1) expand affordable and equitable access to
18 safe water and sanitation for underserved popu-
19 lations;

20 “(2) support the construction, maintenance, up-
21 keep, repair, and operation of water delivery and
22 sanitation systems;

23 “(3) improve the safety and reliability of water
24 supplies, including environmental management; and

1 “(4) improve the institutional capacity of recipi-
2 ent governments, including capacity-building pro-
3 grams for improved water resource management.

4 “(d) LOCAL CURRENCY.—The President may use
5 payments made in local currencies under an agreement
6 made under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development
7 and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to
8 provide assistance under this section, including assistance
9 for activities related to drilling or maintaining wells.”.

10 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 104(c) of
11 the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act
12 of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1704(c)) is amended by adding at the
13 end the following new paragraph:

14 “(9) SAFE WATER.—To provide assistance
15 under section 104D of the Foreign Assistance Act of
16 1961 to promote good health, economic development,
17 poverty reduction, women’s empowerment, and envi-
18 ronmental sustainability by improving the safety of
19 water supplies, including programs related to drilling
20 or maintaining wells.”.

21 **SEC. 5. SAFE WATER AND SANITATION STRATEGY.**

22 (a) STRATEGY.—The Administrator of the United
23 States Agency for International Development, in consulta-
24 tion with the heads of other appropriate Federal depart-
25 ments and agencies, international organizations, inter-

1 national financial institutions, recipient governments,
2 United States and international nongovernmental organi-
3 zations, indigenous civil society, and other appropriate en-
4 tities, shall develop and implement a strategy to further
5 the United States foreign assistance objective to provide
6 affordable and equitable access to safe water and sanita-
7 tion in developing countries.

8 (b) CONTENT.—The strategy required by subsection
9 (a) shall include—

10 (1) an assessment of the activities that have
11 been carried out, or that are planned to be carried
12 out, by all appropriate Federal departments and
13 agencies to improve affordable and equitable access
14 to safe water and sanitation and hygiene in all coun-
15 tries that receive assistance from the United States
16 Agency for International Development;

17 (2) specific and measurable goals, benchmarks,
18 and timetables to achieve the objective described in
19 subsection (a);

20 (3) an assessment of the level of resources that
21 are needed each year to achieve the goals, bench-
22 marks, and timetables described in paragraph (2);

23 (4) methods to mobilize and leverage the finan-
24 cial, technical, and managerial expertise of busi-
25 nesses, governments, nongovernmental organizations,

1 and civil society in the form of public-private alli-
2 ances;

3 (5) methods to encourage reforms and increase
4 the capacity of foreign governments to formulate
5 and implement policies that expand access to safe
6 water and sanitation in an affordable, equitable, and
7 sustainable fashion, including securing loans and
8 strategic planning;

9 (6) methods to coordinate and integrate United
10 States water and sanitation assistance programs
11 with other United States development assistance
12 programs to achieve the objective described in sub-
13 section (a);

14 (7) methods to better coordinate United States
15 water and sanitation assistance programs with pro-
16 grams of other donor countries and entities to
17 achieve the objective described in subsection (a);

18 (8) methods to take into account the different
19 needs of countries with an absolute lack of resources
20 to expand water and sanitation access and countries
21 with the need to better allocate potentially sufficient
22 existing resources and the different activities appro-
23 priate to each, as well as countries with existing
24 markets for investment in water and sanitation and

1 countries without existing markets for investment in
2 water and sanitation; and

3 (9) methods to take into account the need for
4 an appropriate balance of grants, loans, investment
5 insurance, loan guarantees, and other assistance to
6 ensure affordability and equity in the provision of
7 access to safe water and sanitation for the very poor.

8 (c) REPORTS.—

9 (1) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than 180 days
10 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Ad-
11 ministrator of the United States Agency for Inter-
12 national Development shall submit to the appro-
13 priate congressional committees a report that de-
14 scribes the strategy required by subsection (a).

15 (2) SUBSEQUENT REPORTS.—Not less than
16 once every year after the submission of the initial re-
17 port under paragraph (1) until 2015, the Adminis-
18 trator shall submit to the appropriate congressional
19 committees a report on the status of the implemen-
20 tation of the strategy, progress made in achieving
21 the objective described in subsection (a), and any
22 changes to the strategy since the date of the submis-
23 sion of the last report.

24 (3) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term
25 “appropriate congressional committees” means—

1 (A) the Committee on International Rela-
2 tions and the Committee on Appropriations of
3 the House of Representatives; and

4 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations
5 and the Committee on Appropriations of the
6 Senate.

7 **SEC. 6. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appro-
9 priated for fiscal year 2006 and each subsequent fiscal
10 year such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act
11 and the amendments made by this Act.

12 (b) OTHER AMOUNTS.—Amounts appropriated pur-
13 suant to the authorization of appropriations in subsection
14 (a) shall be in addition to the amounts otherwise available
15 to carry out this Act and the amendments made by this
16 Act.

17 (c) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant
18 to the authorization of appropriations under section (a)
19 are authorized to remain available until expended.

○

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman for your courtesy. I would ask unanimous consent that the amendment in the nature of a substitute be adopted and considered as the base text for the purpose of amendment.

Chairman HYDE. The amendment will not be adopted at this point but will be considered as read and will be adopted as the base text.

[The information referred to follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H.R. 1973
OFFERED BY MR. BLUMENAUER**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

2 This Act may be cited as the “Senator Paul Simon
3 Water for the Poor Act of 2005”.

4 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

5 Congress makes the following findings:

6 (1) Water-related diseases are a human trag-
7 edy, killing up to five million people annually, pre-
8 venting millions of people from leading healthy lives,
9 and undermining development efforts.

10 (2) A child dies an average of every 15 seconds
11 because of lack of access to safe water and adequate
12 sanitation.

13 (3) In the poorest countries in the world, one
14 out of five children dies from a preventable, water-
15 related disease.

16 (4) Lack of access to safe drinking water, inad-
17 equate sanitation, and poor hygiene practices are di-
18 rectly responsible for the vast majority of diarrheal

1 diseases which kill over two million children each
2 year.

3 (5) At any given time, half of all people in the
4 developing world are suffering from one or more of
5 the main diseases associated with inadequate provi-
6 sion of water supply and sanitation services.

7 (6) Over 1.1 billion people, one in every six peo-
8 ple in the world, lack access to safe drinking water.

9 (7) Nearly 2.6 billion people, two in every five
10 people in the world, lack access to basic sanitation
11 services.

12 (8) Half of all schools in the world do not have
13 access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

14 (9) Over the past 20 years, two billion people
15 have gained access to safe drinking water and 600
16 million people have gained access to basic sanitation
17 services.

18 (10) Access to safe water and sanitation and
19 improved hygiene are significant factors in control-
20 ling the spread of disease in the developing world
21 and positively affecting worker productivity and eco-
22 nomic development.

23 (11) Increasing access to safe water and sanita-
24 tion advances efforts toward other development ob-
25 jectives, such as fighting poverty and hunger, pro-

1 moting primary education and gender equality, re-
2 ducing child mortality, promoting environmental sta-
3 bility, improving the lives of slum dwellers, and
4 strengthening national security.

5 (12) Providing safe supplies of water and sani-
6 tation and hygiene improvements would save millions
7 of lives by reducing the prevalence of water-borne
8 diseases, water-based diseases, water-privation dis-
9 eases, and water-related vector diseases.

10 (13) Because women and girls in developing
11 countries are often the carriers of water, lack of ac-
12 cess to safe water and sanitation disproportionately
13 affects women and limits women's opportunities at
14 education, livelihood, and financial independence.

15 (14) Between 20 percent and 50 percent of ex-
16 isting water systems in developing countries are not
17 operating or are operating poorly.

18 (15) In developing world water delivery sys-
19 tems, an average of 50 percent of all water is lost
20 before it gets to the end-user.

21 (16) Every \$1 invested in safe water and sani-
22 tation would yield an economic return of between \$3
23 and \$34, depending on the region.

24 (17) Developing sustainable financing mecha-
25 nisms, such as pooling mechanisms and revolving

1 funds, is necessary for the long-term viability of im-
2 proved water and sanitation services.

3 (18) The annual level of investment needed to
4 meet the water and sanitation needs of developing
5 countries far exceeds the amount of Official Develop-
6 ment Assistance (ODA) and spending by govern-
7 ments of developing countries, so facilitating and at-
8 tracting greater public and private investment is es-
9 sential.

10 (19) Meeting the water and sanitation needs of
11 the lowest-income developing countries will require
12 an increase in the resources available as grants from
13 donor countries.

14 (20) The long-term sustainability of improved
15 water and sanitation services can be advanced by
16 promoting community level action and engagement
17 with civil society.

18 (21) Target 10 of the United Nations Millen-
19 nium Development Goals is to reduce by half the
20 proportion of people without sustainable access to
21 safe drinking water by 2015.

22 (22) The participants in the 2002 World Sum-
23 mit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannes-
24 burg, South Africa, including the United States,
25 agreed to the Plan of Implementation of the World

1 Summit on Sustainable Development which included
2 an agreement to work to reduce by one-half “the
3 proportion of people who are unable to reach or af-
4 ford safe drinking water,” and “the proportion of
5 people without access to basic sanitation” by 2015.

6 (23) At the World Summit on Sustainable De-
7 velopment, the United States announced the Water
8 for the Poor Initiative, committing \$970 million for
9 fiscal years 2003 through 2005 to improve sustain-
10 able management of fresh water resources and accel-
11 erate and expand international efforts to achieve the
12 goal of cutting in half by 2015 the proportion of
13 people who are unable to reach or to afford safe
14 drinking water.

15 (24) United Nations General Assembly Resolu-
16 tion 58/217 (February 9, 2004) proclaimed “the pe-
17 riod from 2005 to 2015 the International Decade for
18 Action, ‘Water for Life’, to commence on World
19 Water Day, 22 March 2005” for the purpose of in-
20 creasing the focus of the international community on
21 water-related issues at all levels and on the imple-
22 mentation of water-related programs and projects.

23 (25) Around the world, 263 river basins are
24 shared by two or more countries, and many more

1 basins and watersheds cross political or ethnic
2 boundaries.

3 (26) Water scarcity can contribute to insecurity
4 and conflict on subnational, national, and inter-
5 national levels, thus endangering the national secu-
6 rity of the United States.

7 (27) Opportunities to manage water problems
8 can be leveraged in ways to build confidence, trust,
9 and peace between parties in conflict.

10 (28) Cooperative water management can help
11 resolve conflicts caused by other problems and is
12 often a crucial component in resolving such conflicts.

13 (29) Cooperative water management can help
14 countries recover from conflict and, by promoting
15 dialogue and cooperation among former parties in
16 conflict, can help prevent the reemergence of con-
17 flict.

18 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

19 It is the policy of the United States—

20 (1) to increase the percentage of water and
21 sanitation assistance targeted toward countries des-
22 ignated as high priority countries under section 6(f)
23 of this Act;

24 (2) to ensure that water and sanitation assist-
25 ance reflect an appropriate balance of grants, loans,

1 contracts, investment insurance, loan guarantees,
2 and other assistance to further ensure affordability
3 and equity in the provision of access to safe water
4 and sanitation for the very poor;

5 (3) to ensure that the targeting of water and
6 sanitation assistance reflect an appropriate balance
7 between urban, periurban, and rural areas to meet
8 the purposes of assistance described in section 135
9 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as added by
10 section 5(a) of this Act;

11 (4) to ensure that forms of water and sanita-
12 tion assistance provided reflect the level of existing
13 resources and markets for investment in water and
14 sanitation within recipient countries;

15 (5) to ensure that water and sanitation assist-
16 ance, to the extent possible, supports the poverty re-
17 duction strategies of recipient countries and, when
18 appropriate, encourages the inclusion of water and
19 sanitation within such poverty reduction strategies;

20 (6) to promote country and local ownership of
21 safe water and sanitation programs, to the extent
22 appropriate;

23 (7) to promote community-based approaches in
24 the provision of affordable and equitable access to

1 safe water and sanitation, including the involvement
2 of civil society;

3 (8) to mobilize and leverage the financial and
4 technical capacity of businesses, governments, non-
5 governmental organizations, and civil society in the
6 form of public-private alliances;

7 (9) to encourage reforms and increase the ca-
8 pacity of foreign governments to formulate and im-
9 plement policies that expand access to safe water
10 and sanitation in an affordable, equitable, and sus-
11 tainable manner, including integrated strategic plan-
12 ning; and

13 (10) to protect the supply and availability of
14 safe water through sound environmental manage-
15 ment, including preventing the destruction and deg-
16 radation of ecosystems and watersheds.

17 **SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

18 It is the sense of Congress that—

19 (1) in order to make the most effective use of
20 amounts of Official Development Assistance for
21 water and sanitation and avoid waste and duplica-
22 tion, the United States should seek to establish inno-
23 vative international coordination mechanisms based
24 on best practices in other development sectors; and

1 (2) the United States should greatly increase
2 the amount of Official Development Assistance made
3 available to carry out section 135 of the Foreign As-
4 sistance Act of 1961, as added by section 5(a) of
5 this Act.

6 **SEC. 5. ASSISTANCE TO PROVIDE SAFE WATER AND SANI-**
7 **TATION.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign
9 Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.) is amend-
10 ed by adding at the end the following new section:

11 **“SEC. 135. ASSISTANCE TO PROVIDE SAFE WATER AND**
12 **SANITATION.**

13 “(a) PURPOSES.—The purposes of assistance author-
14 ized by this section are—

15 “(1) to promote good health, economic develop-
16 ment, poverty reduction, women’s empowerment,
17 conflict prevention, and environmental sustainability
18 by providing assistance to expand access to safe
19 water and sanitation, promoting integrated water re-
20 source management, and improving hygiene for peo-
21 ple around the world;

22 “(2) to seek to reduce by one-half from the
23 baseline year 1990 the proportion of people who are
24 unable to reach or afford safe drinking water and

1 the proportion of people without access to basic sani-
2 tation by 2015;

3 “(3) to focus water and sanitation assistance
4 toward the countries, locales, and people with the
5 greatest need;

6 “(4) to promote affordability and equity in the
7 provision of access to safe water and sanitation for
8 the very poor, women, and other vulnerable popu-
9 lations;

10 “(5) to improve water efficiency through water
11 demand management and reduction of unaccounted-
12 for water;

13 “(6) to promote long-term sustainability in the
14 affordable and equitable provision of access to safe
15 water and sanitation through the creation of innova-
16 tive financing mechanisms such as national revolving
17 funds, and by strengthening the capacity of recipient
18 governments and communities to formulate and im-
19 plement policies that expand access to safe water
20 and sanitation in a sustainable fashion, including in-
21 tegrated planning;

22 “(7) to secure the greatest amount of resources
23 possible, encourage private investment in water and
24 sanitation infrastructure and services, particularly in
25 lower middle-income countries, without creating

1 unsustainable debt for low-income countries or
2 unaffordable water and sanitation costs for the very
3 poor; and

4 “(8) to promote the capacity of recipient gov-
5 ernments to provide affordable, equitable, and sus-
6 tainable access to safe water and sanitation.

7 “(b) AUTHORIZATION.—To carry out the purposes of
8 subsection (a), the President is authorized to furnish as-
9 sistance for programs in developing countries to provide
10 affordable and equitable access to safe water and sanita-
11 tion.

12 “(c) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Assistance provided
13 under subsection (b) shall, to the maximum extent prac-
14 ticable, be used to—

15 “(1) expand affordable and equitable access to
16 safe water and sanitation for underserved popu-
17 lations;

18 “(2) support the design, construction, mainte-
19 nance, upkeep, repair, and operation of water deliv-
20 ery and sanitation systems;

21 “(3) improve the safety and reliability of water
22 supplies, including environmental management; and

23 “(4) improve the capacity of recipient govern-
24 ments and local communities, including capacity-

1 building programs for improved water resource man-
2 agement.

3 “(d) LOCAL CURRENCY.—The President may use
4 payments made in local currencies under an agreement
5 made under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development
6 and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to
7 provide assistance under this section.”.

8 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 104(c) of
9 the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act
10 of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1704(c)) is amended by adding at the
11 end the following new paragraph:

12 “(9) SAFE WATER AND SANITATION.—To pro-
13 vide assistance under section 135 of the Foreign As-
14 sistance Act of 1961 to promote good health, eco-
15 nomic development, poverty reduction, women’s em-
16 powerment, conflict prevention, and environmental
17 sustainability by increasing affordable and equitable
18 access to safe water and sanitation.”.

19 **SEC. 6. SAFE WATER AND SANITATION STRATEGY.**

20 (a) STRATEGY.—The President, acting through the
21 Secretary of State, shall develop a strategy to further the
22 United States foreign assistance objective to provide af-
23 fordable and equitable access to safe water and sanitation
24 in developing countries, as described in section 135 of the

1 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as added by section 5(a)
2 of this Act.

3 (b) CONSULTATION.—The strategy required by sub-
4 section (a) shall be developed in consultation with the Ad-
5 ministrator of the United States Agency for International
6 Development, the heads of other appropriate Federal de-
7 partments and agencies, international organizations, inter-
8 national financial institutions, recipient governments,
9 United States and international nongovernmental organi-
10 zations, indigenous civil society, and other appropriate en-
11 tities.

12 (c) IMPLEMENTATION.—The Secretary of State, act-
13 ing through the Administrator of the United States Agen-
14 cy for International Development, shall implement the
15 strategy required by subsection (a). The strategy may also
16 be implemented in part by other Federal departments and
17 agencies, as appropriate.

18 (d) CONSISTENT WITH SAFE WATER AND SANITA-
19 TION POLICY.—The strategy required by subsection (a)
20 shall be consistent with the policy stated in section 3 of
21 this Act.

22 (e) CONTENT.—The strategy required by subsection
23 (a) shall include—

24 (1) an assessment of the activities that have
25 been carried out, or that are planned to be carried

1 out, by all appropriate Federal departments and
2 agencies to improve affordable and equitable access
3 to safe water and sanitation in all countries that re-
4 ceive assistance from the United States;

5 (2) specific and measurable goals, benchmarks,
6 and timetables to achieve the objective described in
7 subsection (a);

8 (3) an assessment of the level of funding and
9 other assistance for United States water and sanita-
10 tion programs needed each year to achieve the goals,
11 benchmarks, and timetables described in paragraph
12 (2);

13 (4) methods to coordinate and integrate United
14 States water and sanitation assistance programs
15 with other United States development assistance
16 programs to achieve the objective described in sub-
17 section (a);

18 (5) methods to better coordinate United States
19 water and sanitation assistance programs with pro-
20 grams of other donor countries and entities to
21 achieve the objective described in subsection (a); and

22 (6) an assessment of the commitment of gov-
23 ernments of countries that receive assistance under
24 section 135 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961,
25 as added by section 5(a) of this Act, to policies or

1 policy reforms that support affordable and equitable
2 access by the people of such countries to safe water
3 and sanitation.

4 (f) DESIGNATION OF HIGH PRIORITY COUNTRIES.—
5 The strategy required by subsection (a) shall further in-
6 clude the designation of high priority countries for assist-
7 ance under section 135 of the Foreign Assistance Act of
8 1961, as added by section 5(a) of this Act. This designa-
9 tion shall be made on the basis of—

10 (1) countries in which the need for increased
11 access to safe water and sanitation is greatest; and

12 (2) countries in which assistance under such
13 section can be expected to make the greatest dif-
14 ference in promoting good health, economic develop-
15 ment, poverty reduction, women's empowerment,
16 conflict prevention, and environmental sustainability.

17 (g) REPORTS.—

18 (1) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than 180 days
19 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Sec-
20 retary of State shall submit to the appropriate con-
21 gressional committees a report that describes the
22 strategy required by subsection (a).

23 (2) SUBSEQUENT REPORTS.—

24 (A) IN GENERAL.—Not less than once
25 every year after the submission of the initial re-

1 port under paragraph (1) until 2015, the Sec-
2 retary of State shall submit to the appropriate
3 congressional committees a report on the status
4 of the implementation of the strategy, progress
5 made in achieving the objective described in
6 subsection (a), and any changes to the strategy
7 since the date of the submission of the last re-
8 port.

9 (B) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.— Such
10 reports shall include information on the amount
11 of funds expended in each country or program,
12 disaggregated by purpose of assistance, includ-
13 ing information on capital investments, and the
14 source of such funds by account.

15 (3) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term
16 “appropriate congressional committees” means—

17 (A) the Committee on International Rela-
18 tions and the Committee on Appropriations of
19 the House of Representatives; and

20 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations
21 and the Committee on Appropriations of the
22 Senate.

23 **SEC. 7. MONITORING REQUIREMENT.**

24 The Secretary of State and the Administrator of the
25 United States Agency for International Development shall

1 monitor the implementation of assistance under section
2 135 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as added by
3 section 5(a) of this Act, to ensure that the assistance is
4 reaching its intended targets and meeting the intended
5 purposes of assistance.

6 **SEC. 8. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING DEVELOPMENT**
7 **OF LOCAL CAPACITY.**

8 It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of State
9 should expand current programs and develop new pro-
10 grams, as necessary, to train local water and sanitation
11 managers and other officials of countries that receive as-
12 sistance under section 135 of the Foreign Assistance Act
13 of 1961, as added by section 5(a) of this Act.

14 **SEC. 9. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING ADDITIONAL**
15 **WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMS.**

16 It is the sense of the Congress that—

17 (1) the United States should further support,
18 as appropriate, water and sanitation activities of
19 United Nations agencies, such as the United Na-
20 tions Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Na-
21 tions Development Programme (UNDP), and the
22 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP);
23 and

24 (2) the Secretary of the Treasury should in-
25 struct each United States Executive Director at the

1 multilateral development banks (within the meaning
2 of section 1701(c) of the International Financial In-
3 stitutions Act) to encourage the inclusion of water
4 and sanitation programs as a critical element of
5 their development assistance.

6 **SEC. 10. REPORT REGARDING WATER FOR PEACE AND SE-**
7 **CURITY.**

8 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
9 gress that United States programs to support and encour-
10 age efforts around the world to develop river basin, aqui-
11 fer, and other watershed-wide mechanisms for governance
12 and cooperation are critical components of long-term
13 United States national security and should be expanded.

14 (b) REPORT.—The Secretary of State, in consultation
15 with the Administrator of the United States Agency for
16 International Development, shall submit to the Committee
17 on International Relations of the House of Representa-
18 tives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Sen-
19 ate a report on efforts that the United States is making
20 to support and promote programs that develop river basin,
21 aquifer, and other watershed-wide mechanisms for govern-
22 ance and cooperation.

23 **SEC. 11. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

24 (a) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appro-
25 priated for fiscal year 2006 and each subsequent fiscal

1 year such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act
2 and the amendments made by this Act.

3 (b) OTHER AMOUNTS.—Amounts appropriated pur-
4 suant to the authorization of appropriations in subsection
5 (a) shall be in addition to the amounts otherwise available
6 to carry out this Act and the amendments made by this
7 Act.

8 (c) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant
9 to the authorization of appropriations under section (a)
10 are authorized to remain available until expended.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes to explain his amendment.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me say I deeply appreciate the cooperation of you and Mr. Lantos in taking this legislation and advancing it in a way that I think each Member can feel pleased and proud that we will have an opportunity, as world leaders meet today in New York, to review the progress toward millennium goals that we will be doing our part dealing with the critical area of water access. Lack of access to safe water and sanitation is the number one killer in the world.

It affects all of our development objectives from economic growth to the education of young girls and environmental sustainability.

The scope of the impact, as set forth in the bill, and as we have had in testimony before the Committee, puts it on a scale that it is important that we extend all our efforts. There are currently 1.2 billion people around the world who still don't have access to safe drinking water and over 2.5 billion people who don't have access to sanitation. The Water For the Poor Act is a result of a long process of input from Members of both sides of the aisle, from the development NGOs, environmental groups, engineering firms, water-related business, from the Administration, and I am pleased and proud how inclusive the process has been.

It makes, as you said, Mr. Chairman, access to safe drinking water and sanitation in an affordable and equitable way a major strategy, a major objective of the United States foreign assistance, and requires the development of a strategy to meet the goal that President Bush agreed to in 2002, to cut in half the percentage of people in the world without this access.

It ensures that water and sanitation assistance will be focused on the areas of greatest need that helps integrate those programs into other United States development programs, and sets the policy to ensure that our assistance is as effective as it can be. And we have had ample testimony again before the Committee that indicates there is lots of ingenuity and energy from faith-based organizations, professional groups and NGOs.

It also helps address the role that conflict and cooperation over water can play in our own national security. And I am pleased, Mr. Chairman, to note that it—with your guidance, that it would honor the memory of former Senator Paul Simon, who was a pioneer in drawing our attention to this. I cherish the meeting I had with him and the copy of his book that I got that helped identify the water crisis.

Our efforts on this legislation are designed to provide the United States Government, recipient governments and all their private sector and NGO partners with every tool possible to increase access to safe water and sanitation in an affordable and equitable fashion. This nonpartisan legislation complements a similar bill that has been introduced in the Senate by Senate Majority Leader Frist and the Democratic leader, Harry Reid. I am hopeful that our action today will help spur action in the other body and it is something that we can take home, all being proud that we have taken an important step to make the world safer and more livable. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you for scheduling this legislation for Committee consideration today. I also want to commend my good friend and distinguished colleague from Oregon, Mr. Blumenauer, for introducing this critically important legislation, which I am very pleased to be an original co sponsor. And I want to join him in paying tribute to our late colleague, Paul Simon, for his work in this field.

Mr. Chairman, the entire world witnessed the unimaginable devastation of the recent hurricane as it brought destruction to the gulf coast, leaving over hundreds of thousands of people homeless and destitute.

Not only have they lost their homes and loved ones, but those still in the hurricane ravaged areas are now being threatened with water-borne diseases caused by toxin filled flood waters.

We now have a clear example in our own country that unsafe water and the lack of sanitation are threatening the lives of our own citizens.

Unfortunately, the developing world has known this danger too well.

Unsafe water and poor sanitation kill.

Each year, more than 3 billion people—3 billion people—suffer from water-related diseases, from which over 3 million people die.

Most of the victims are children under 5.

The Water For the Poor Act seeks to address the problem of people lacking access to safe drinking water and the people who have no access to basic sanitation. Our legislation directs the Administration to make expanding access to safe water and sanitation a major policy objective of the United States development efforts.

Our bill authorizes new programs to make this policy a reality, including expending affordable and equitable access to safe water and sanitation, and improving the capacity of national and local governments and communities to address effectively their water and sanitation needs.

Our bill also authorizes our Secretary of State to develop a safe water and sanitation strategy, including designation of high priority countries with the greatest water and sanitation needs.

Finally, our bill urges the Administration to expand programs that promote transboundary cooperation of water issues.

In the interests of stability globally, and in keeping with our core humanitarian values, the United States must do all within our power to ensure that people everywhere have access to safe water and sanitation. And I strongly support this legislation, I urge all of my colleagues to do so.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you, Mr. Lantos. Are there any amendments?

If not, the question occurs on the amendment in the nature of the substitute as amended. All those in favor say aye. Opposed, no.

The ayes have it.

The question now occurs on the motion to report the bill favorably as amended. All in favor say aye. Opposed, nay.

The ayes have it. The motion to report the bill favorably is adopted. And without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming changes.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the following bills, one, H. Con. Res. 195, commemorating the Armenian genocide of 1915–1923, urging the Government of the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian genocide and engage in rapprochement with the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian people in supporting the accession of Turkey to the European Union if Turkey meets certain criteria; and two, H. Res. 316, calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian genocide for purposes of markup.

Without objection the bills will be debated en bloc. They will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point, a separate vote on each measure will be taken if requested.

[The information referred to follows:]

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 195

Commemorating the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923, urging the Government of the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian Genocide and engage in rapprochement with the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian people, and supporting the accession of Turkey to the European Union if Turkey meets certain criteria.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 29, 2005

Mr. SCHIFF submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Commemorating the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923, urging the Government of the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian Genocide and engage in rapprochement with the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian people, and supporting the accession of Turkey to the European Union if Turkey meets certain criteria.

Whereas the 20th century was the bloodiest in history and saw the application of the tools of the modern industrial state to mass killings which have come to be called genocide;

Whereas 20th century genocides have included the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, the Cambodian Genocide, and the Rwandan Genocide;

Whereas the Government of Sudan is currently engaged in a genocide against the people of Darfur, Sudan;

Whereas the consequences of these genocides continue to affect all humanity, especially those who have been its victims;

Whereas only by acknowledging responsibility and reconciling with the victims can a nation or people that committed genocide fully return to the community of nations;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide was the first genocide of the 20th century;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide was conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey;

Whereas in August 1914, the Ottoman Government formed a paramilitary organization called the Special Organization;

Whereas the Special Organization created units called “butcher battalions”, which were made up of violent criminals released from prison, to carry out the extermination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire;

Whereas in February 1915, the Ottoman Government ordered Armenian men serving in the army disarmed and organized into forced labor groups;

Whereas on the night of April 23–24, 1915, hundreds of Armenian intellectuals and community leaders were summarily arrested in Constantinople;

Whereas this was the first of a series of roundups of Armenian politicians, priests, scientists, lawyers, doctors, and writers of the Ottoman Empire, most of whom were killed soon after;

Whereas the first mass deportations began in late March 1915 in the region of Cilicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, according to an extensive plan of deportation and elimination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire that was prepared by Talat Pasha, the head of the government;

Whereas notices of deportation were posted in public places and the news announced publicly in the streets of Armenian towns and villages;

Whereas the Ottoman Government's campaign resulted in the deportation of nearly 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men, women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland;

Whereas there are numerous contemporaneous documentations of the Ottoman Government's campaign against the Armenians, including extensive accounts in Western newspapers and government documents in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and the Vatican;

Whereas this documentation unequivocally describes the systematic murder of the Armenian people and the destruction of Armenian life within the Ottoman Empire;

Whereas Henry Morgenthau Sr., the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, sent a cable to the United States State Department in 1915: "Deportation of and

excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses [sic] it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.”;

Whereas Abram Elkus, who succeeded Morgenthau as United States Ambassador in 1916, sent a cable to Washington that the Ottoman Turks were continuing an “. . . unchecked policy of extermination through starvation, exhaustion, and brutality of treatment”;

Whereas in 1920, the Communists came to power in Armenia following an invasion by the Red Army;

Whereas Armenia was part of the Soviet Union for the next 70 years;

Whereas the Republic of Armenia is working toward democracy, the rule of law, and a viable free market economy since obtaining its freedom from Soviet rule in 1991;

Whereas the Republic of Armenia is a member of the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s Partnership for Peace;

Whereas the Republic of Armenia is a friend and ally of the United States;

Whereas the modern Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey abolished Ottoman institutions, including the sultanate and caliphate, and underwent a period of modernization and westernization;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey has been a long-standing member of numerous international organizations, including the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganization, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey is a friend and ally of the United States;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey, because of its position at the crossroads of Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East, is well positioned to play a leading role in shaping developments in Europe and beyond;

Whereas the United States has an interest in the stability and economic development of Turkey and the Caucasus region;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey desires to join the European Union;

Whereas the European Union and the Republic of Turkey will begin accession talks in October 2005;

Whereas former Secretary of State Colin Powell welcomed the announcement of accession talks in December 2004 by saying that the United States is “confident that the accession process, and Turkey’s eventual membership in the European Union, will bring great benefits to Turkey and to the European Union . . . [t]he Turkish people have much to look forward to . . . [a] Turkey that is firmly anchored in Europe and sharing European values will be a positive force for prosperity and democracy . . . [t]his is good for Turkey, for the broader European region, and for the United States, and that is why successive United States administrations have consistently supported Turkey’s European aspirations”;

Whereas the European Union in 1993 established criteria for membership for Central and Eastern European countries that require that the candidate country must have

achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, and the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic, and monetary union;

Whereas Republic of Turkey is making progress in many of these areas, as reflected in the decision to open accession negotiations;

Whereas in order to meet the accession criteria regarding the respect for and treatment of minorities, the Republic of Turkey must acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey has consistently refused to acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas the European Parliament passed a resolution in June 1987 stating that the killing of “Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the Convention on the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948”;

Whereas in the 1987 Resolution the European Parliament stated that “the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by [the Ottoman] government, [is] an

insurmountable obstacle to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community";

Whereas the European Parliament, in a resolution passed in November 2000 on Turkey's progress toward accession to the European Union, called upon Turkey "to give fresh support to the Armenian minority, as an important part of Turkish society, in particular by public recognition of the genocide which that minority suffered before the establishment of the modern state of Turkey";

Whereas the European Parliament passed a resolution in February 2002 reiterating its recognition of the Armenian Genocide and noting "that the Turkish regime after the First World War had several of those responsible for the genocide severely punished";

Whereas the European Parliament, in its December 2004 parliamentary report on Turkey's progress toward accession to the European Union, urged Turkey to "promote the process of reconciliation with the Armenian people by acknowledging the genocide" and called on the European Council and Commission to demand that Turkey "formally acknowledge the historic reality" of the Genocide;

Whereas the national parliaments of several members of the European Union and a number of other national parliaments have passed resolutions recognizing the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas in recent years there has been an increasing willingness of Turkish academics, journalists, and others to openly discuss the Armenian Genocide, but this has often been met with hostility by the Government of the Republic of Turkey;

Whereas a group of historians organized and scheduled an academic conference relating to the Armenian Genocide to take place starting June 1, 2005, at Bosporus University in Istanbul, but the Government of the Republic of Turkey successfully pressured the university to cancel the conference; and

Whereas the Republic of Turkey's acknowledgement of the actions of the Ottoman Government, including the terrible tragedy of the Armenian Genocide, will herald a new chapter in the history of the region and usher in a new era of economic, social, and political progress: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That Congress—

3 (1) commemorates the victims of the Armenian
4 Genocide of 1915–1923;

5 (2) calls upon the President to commemorate
6 the victims of the Armenian Genocide on behalf of
7 the people and Government of the United States;

8 (3) calls upon the Government of the Republic
9 of Turkey to acknowledge the culpability of its predecessor
10 state, the Ottoman Empire, for the Armenian
11 Genocide;

12 (4) calls upon the Government of the Republic
13 of Turkey to promote rapprochement with the Republic
14 of Armenia and the Armenian people and realize
15 a just resolution;

1 (5) supports the accession to the European
2 Union of the Republic of Turkey if Turkey—

3 (A) acknowledges the culpability of its
4 predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire for the
5 Armenian Genocide;

6 (B) pursues rapprochement with the Re-
7 public of Armenia and the Armenian people;
8 and

9 (C) meets the other criteria for accession
10 as determined by the European Union;

11 (6) calls upon the European Union to look with
12 favor upon any actions by the Government of the
13 Republic of Turkey to acknowledge the culpability of
14 its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire, for the
15 Armenian Genocide and engage in rapprochement
16 with the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian
17 people;

18 (7) stands ready to assist the Republic of Tur-
19 key and the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian
20 people in this process; and

21 (8) calls upon the President, the Secretary of
22 State, the European Union, and others to assist the
23 Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia
24 and the Armenian people in this process.

○

109TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 316

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 14, 2005

Mr. RADANOVICH (for himself, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. DREIER, Mr. WEINER, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. SOUDER, Ms. WATSON, Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey, Mr. McNULTY, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. SCHWARZ of Michigan, Mr. CARDOZA, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. McCOTTER, Mr. ISRAEL, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. KIRK, Mr. FILNER, Mr. SHERMAN, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. ROGERS of Michigan, Mr. McKEON, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. VISCLOSKY, Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire, Mr. BASS, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. NUNES, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. SHAW, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. SWEENEY, Mr. COSTA, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. MENENDEZ, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. ISSA, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. ROYCE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

RESOLUTION

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United

States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes.

1 *Resolved,*

2 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

3 This resolution may be cited as the “Affirmation of
4 the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Reso-
5 lution”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 The House of Representatives finds the following:

8 (1) The Armenian Genocide was conceived and
9 carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to
10 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly
11 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men,
12 women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors
13 were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded
14 in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of
15 Armenians in their historic homeland.

16 (2) On May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers, Eng-
17 land, France, and Russia, jointly issued a statement
18 explicitly charging for the first time ever another
19 government of committing “a crime against human-
20 ity”.

21 (3) This joint statement stated “the Allied Gov-
22 ernments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte
23 that they will hold personally responsible for these
24 crimes all members of the Ottoman Government, as

1 well as those of their agents who are implicated in
2 such massacres”.

3 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government
4 indicted the top leaders involved in the “organization
5 and execution” of the Armenian Genocide and in the
6 “massacre and destruction of the Armenians”.

7 (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the
8 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as
9 charged, for organizing and executing massacres
10 against the Armenian people.

11 (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Geno-
12 cide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior
13 Talaat, and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all
14 condemned to death for their crimes, however, the
15 verdicts of the courts were not enforced.

16 (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic
17 judicial failures are documented with overwhelming
18 evidence in the national archives of Austria, France,
19 Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States,
20 the Vatican and many other countries, and this vast
21 body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same
22 events, and the same consequences.

23 (8) The United States National Archives and
24 Record Administration holds extensive and thorough
25 documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially

1 in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the United
2 States Department of State, files 867.00 and
3 867.40, which are open and widely available to the
4 public and interested institutions.

5 (9) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United
6 States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from
7 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials
8 of many countries, among them the allies of the
9 Ottoman Empire, against the Armenian Genocide.

10 (10) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly de-
11 scribed to the United States Department of State
12 the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Em-
13 pire as “a campaign of race extermination,” and was
14 instructed on July 16, 1915, by United States Sec-
15 retary of State Robert Lansing that the “Depart-
16 ment approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian
17 persecution”.

18 (11) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of Feb-
19 ruary 9, 1916, resolved that “the President of the
20 United States be respectfully asked to designate a
21 day on which the citizens of this country may give
22 expression to their sympathy by contributing funds
23 now being raised for the relief of the Armenians”,
24 who at the time were enduring “starvation, disease,
25 and untold suffering”.

1 (12) President Woodrow Wilson concurred and
2 also encouraged the formation of the organization
3 known as Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of
4 Congress, which contributed some \$116,000,000
5 from 1915 to 1930 to aid Armenian Genocide sur-
6 vivors, including 132,000 orphans who became foster
7 children of the American people.

8 (13) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11,
9 1920, stated in part, “the testimony adduced at the
10 hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Sen-
11 ate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly es-
12 tablished the truth of the reported massacres and
13 other atrocities from which the Armenian people
14 have suffered”.

15 (14) The resolution followed the April 13, 1920,
16 report to the Senate of the American Military Mis-
17 sion to Armenia led by General James Harbord, that
18 stated “[m]utilation, violation, torture, and death
19 have left their haunting memories in a hundred
20 beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that
21 region is seldom free from the evidence of this most
22 colossal crime of all the ages”.

23 (15) As displayed in the United States Holo-
24 caust Memorial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering
25 his military commanders to attack Poland without

1 provocation in 1939, dismissed objections by saying
2 “[w]ho, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of
3 the Armenians?” and thus set the stage for the Hol-
4 ocaust.

5 (16) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term
6 “genocide” in 1944, and who was the earliest pro-
7 ponent of the United Nations Convention on the
8 Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the
9 Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in
10 the 20th century.

11 (17) The first resolution on genocide adopted
12 by the United Nations at Lemkin’s urging, the De-
13 cember 11, 1946, United Nations General Assembly
14 Resolution 96(1) and the United Nations Convention
15 on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide itself
16 recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of
17 crime the United Nations intended to prevent and
18 punish by codifying existing standards.

19 (18) In 1948, the United Nations War Crimes
20 Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide “pre-
21 cisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern
22 term ‘crimes against humanity’ is intended to cover”
23 as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals.

24 (19) The Commission stated that “[t]he provi-
25 sions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres

1 were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with
2 the Allied note of 1915 . . . , offenses which had been
3 committed on Turkish territory against persons of
4 Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek
5 race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent
6 for Article 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo
7 Charters, and offers an example of one of the cat-
8 egories of ‘crimes against humanity’ as understood
9 by these enactments”.

10 (20) House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on
11 April 8, 1975, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1975, is
12 hereby designated as ‘National Day of Remembrance
13 of Man’s Inhumanity to Man’, and the President of
14 the United States is authorized and requested to
15 issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the
16 United States to observe such day as a day of re-
17 membrance for all the victims of genocide, especially
18 those of Armenian ancestry . . .”.

19 (21) President Ronald Reagan in proclamation
20 number 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part
21 “like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and
22 the genocide of the Cambodians, which followed it—
23 and like too many other persecutions of too many
24 other people—the lessons of the Holocaust must
25 never be forgotten”.

1 (22) House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on
2 September 10, 1984, resolved: “[t]hat April 24,
3 1985, is hereby designated as ‘National Day of Re-
4 membrance of Man’s Inhumanity to Man’, and the
5 President of the United States is authorized and re-
6 quested to issue a proclamation calling upon the
7 people of the United States to observe such day as
8 a day of remembrance for all the victims of geno-
9 cide, especially the one and one-half million people of
10 Armenian ancestry . . . ”.

11 (23) In August 1985, after extensive study and
12 deliberation, the United Nations SubCommission on
13 Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Mi-
14 norities voted 14 to 1 to accept a report entitled
15 “Study of the Question of the Prevention and Pun-
16 ishment of the Crime of Genocide,” which stated
17 “[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been
18 the only case of genocide in the 20th century.
19 Among other examples which can be cited as quali-
20 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians
21 in 1915–1916”.

22 (24) This report also explained that “[a]t least
23 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Arme-
24 nian population, are reliably estimated to have been
25 killed or death marched by independent authorities

1 and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in
2 United States, German and British archives and of
3 contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, in-
4 cluding those of its ally Germany.”.

5 (25) The United States Holocaust Memorial
6 Council, an independent Federal agency, unani-
7 mously resolved on April 30, 1981, that the United
8 States Holocaust Memorial Museum would include
9 the Armenian Genocide in the Museum and has
10 since done so.

11 (26) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression
12 (later retracted) by the United States Department of
13 State asserting that the facts of the Armenian Geno-
14 cide may be ambiguous, the United States Court of
15 Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after
16 a review of documents pertaining to the policy
17 record of the United States, noted that the assertion
18 on ambiguity in the United States record about the
19 Armenian Genocide “contradicted longstanding
20 United States policy and was eventually retracted”.

21 (27) On June 5, 1996, the House of Represent-
22 atives adopted an amendment to House Bill 3540
23 (the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Re-
24 lated Programs Appropriations Act, 1997) to reduce
25 aid to Turkey by \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its pay-

1 ment of lobbying fees in the United States) until the
2 Turkish Government acknowledged the Armenian
3 Genocide and took steps to honor the memory of its
4 victims.

5 (28) President William Jefferson Clinton, on
6 April 24, 1998, stated: “This year, as in the past,
7 we join with Armenian-Americans throughout the
8 nation in commemorating one of the saddest chap-
9 ters in the history of this century, the deportations
10 and massacres of a million and a half Armenians in
11 the Ottoman Empire in the years 1915–1923.”.

12 (29) President George W. Bush, on April 24,
13 2004, stated: “On this day, we pause in remem-
14 brance of one of the most horrible tragedies of the
15 20th century, the annihilation of as many as
16 1,500,000 Armenians through forced exile and mur-
17 der at the end of the Ottoman Empire.”.

18 (30) Despite the international recognition and
19 affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of
20 the domestic and international authorities to punish
21 those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a
22 reason why similar genocides have recurred and may
23 recur in the future, and that a just resolution will
24 help prevent future genocides.

1 **SEC. 3. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

2 The House of Representatives—

3 (1) calls upon the President to ensure that the
4 foreign policy of the United States reflects appro-
5 priate understanding and sensitivity concerning
6 issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and
7 genocide documented in the United States record re-
8 lating to the Armenian Genocide and the con-
9 sequences of the failure to realize a just resolution;
10 and

11 (2) calls upon the President in the President's
12 annual message commemorating the Armenian
13 Genocide issued on or about April 24, to accurately
14 characterize the systematic and deliberate annihila-
15 tion of 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to re-
16 call the proud history of United States intervention
17 in opposition to the Armenian Genocide.

○

Chairman HYDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California for purposes of offering an amendment.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute at the desk which Members should have before them. Among other things it removes the Turkish accession to the EU language from the measure. I ask for its immediate consideration and ask unanimous consent to have it considered as read.

Chairman HYDE. Without objection the amendment in the nature of a substitute will be considered as read, and will be considered as the base text for purposes of markup.

[The information referred to follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H. CON. RES. 195
OFFERED BY MR. SCHIFF**

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas the 20th century was the bloodiest in history and saw the application of the tools of the modern industrial state to mass killings which have come to be called genocide;

Whereas 20th century genocides have included the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, the Cambodian Genocide, and the Rwandan Genocide;

Whereas the Government of Sudan is currently engaged in a genocide against the people of Darfur, Sudan;

Whereas the consequences of these genocides continue to affect all humanity, especially those who have been its victims;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide was the first genocide of the 20th century;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide was conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923;

Whereas in August 1914, the Ottoman Government formed a paramilitary organization called the Special Organization;

Whereas the Special Organization created units called “butcher battalions”, which were made up of violent criminals released from prison, to carry out the extermination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire;

Whereas in February 1915, the Ottoman Government ordered Armenian men serving in the army disarmed and organized into forced labor groups;

Whereas on the night of April 23–24, 1915, hundreds of Armenian intellectuals and community leaders were summarily arrested in Constantinople;

Whereas this was the first of a series of roundups of Armenian politicians, priests, scientists, lawyers, doctors, and writers of the Ottoman Empire, most of whom were killed soon after;

Whereas the first mass deportations began in late March 1915 in the region of Cilicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, according to an extensive plan of deportation and elimination of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire that was prepared by Talat Pasha, the head of the government;

Whereas notices of deportation were posted in public places and the news announced publicly in the streets of Armenian towns and villages;

Whereas the Ottoman Government's campaign resulted in the deportation of nearly 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men, women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland;

Whereas there are numerous contemporaneous documentations of the Ottoman Government's campaign against the Armenians, including extensive accounts in Western newspapers and government documents in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and the Vatican;

Whereas this documentation unequivocally describes the systematic murder of the Armenian people and the destruction of Armenian life within the Ottoman Empire;

Whereas Henry Morgenthau Sr., the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, sent a cable to the United States State Department in 1915: “Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses [sic] it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.”;

Whereas Abram Elkus, who succeeded Morgenthau as United States Ambassador in 1916, sent a cable to Washington that the Ottoman Turks were continuing an “. . . unchecked policy of extermination through starvation, exhaustion, and brutality of treatment”;

Whereas in 1920, the Communists came to power in Armenia following an invasion by the Red Army;

Whereas Armenia was part of the Soviet Union for the next 70 years;

Whereas the Republic of Armenia is working toward democracy, the rule of law, and a viable free market economy since obtaining its freedom from Soviet rule in 1991;

Whereas the Republic of Armenia is a member of the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s Partnership for Peace;

Whereas the modern Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey has been a long-standing member of numerous international organizations, including the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganization, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe;

Whereas the Republic of Turkey, because of its position at the crossroads of Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East, is well positioned to play a leading role in shaping developments in Europe and beyond;

Whereas the United States has an interest in the stability and economic development of Turkey and the Caucasus region;

Whereas in recent years there has been an increasing willingness of Turkish academics, journalists, and others to openly discuss the Armenian Genocide, but this has often been met with hostility by the Government of the Republic of Turkey;

Whereas a group of historians organized and scheduled an academic conference relating to the Armenian Genocide to take place starting June 1, 2005, at Bosphorus University in Istanbul, but the Government of the Republic of Turkey successfully pressured the university to cancel the conference; and

Whereas the Republic of Turkey's acknowledgement and just resolution of the actions of the Ottoman Government, including the terrible tragedy of the Armenian Genocide, will herald a new chapter in the history of the region and usher in a new era of economic, social, and political progress: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

1 That Congress—

1 (1) commemorates the victims of the Armenian
2 Genocide of 1915–1923;

3 (2) calls upon the President to commemorate
4 the victims of the Armenian Genocide on behalf of
5 the people and Government of the United States;

6 (3) calls upon the Government of the Republic
7 of Turkey to

8 (A) end its campaign to deny the Arme-
9 nian Genocide; and

10 (B) acknowledge the genocide against the
11 Armenian people that was perpetrated by the
12 Ottoman Empire;

13 (4) calls upon the Government of the Republic
14 of Turkey to promote rapprochement with the Re-
15 public of Armenia and the Armenian people and re-
16 alize a just resolution of the Armenian Genocide;

17 (5) stands ready to assist the Republic of Tur-
18 key and the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian
19 people in a process of rapprochement based on truth
20 and the just resolution of the Armenian Genocide;
21 and

22 (6) calls upon the President, the Secretary of
23 State, and others to assist the Republic of Turkey
24 and the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian peo-

- 1 ple in a process of rapprochement based on truth
- 2 and the just resolution of the Armenian Genocide.

Amend the title so as to read: “Concurrent resolution commemorating the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923 and urging the Government of the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide and engage in rapprochement with the Republic of Armenia and the Armenian people.”.

Chairman HYDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California to explain his amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Chairman, at the outset, I want to thank you for conducting this markup today of H. Con. Res. 195 and H. Res. 316. I know this is an issue that the Chairman has wrestled with, many Members of the Committee wrestled with, and I am very grateful to have the markup today.

I would also like to acknowledge the long standing and strong work of my colleagues, George Radanovich, who is here in the Committee room with us today. I want to thank you publicly for all your work on this issue. I would also like to thank our other colleagues, who are leaders of the Armenian issues caucus in the Congress, Frank Pallone and Joe Knollenberg for all that hard work as well as to get to this point.

Today, this Committee can begin anew the long overdue process of honoring one and a half million Armenians who perished in the Armenian genocide that began 90 years ago this past April. I consider this a sacred obligation to make sure that our country honors the past so that future generations of Americans remember the first genocide of the 20th century and that the men, women and children who perished at the hands of the Ottoman Empire are not lost to history.

Time is the ally of those who would deny or change history such as it has been with Turkey and with the Armenian genocide. This genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire has been steadfastly denied by generations of Turkish leaders despite incontrovertible evidence to the contrary.

My fellow Members of this Committee, there is no dispute that what happened on the Armenian people constitutes genocide. Indeed, in the more than 10 years that I have worked on genocide recognition no legislator has ever argued to me that the genocide did not occur.

And how could they? Thousands of pages of documents in our national archives document the slaughter.

One of these documents is a report from the American Consul and Trebizond, Oscar Heizer, on July 28, 1915, Heizer cabled the United States Embassy in Constantinople to report on the massacre of 180 Armenian road workers who were shot, stripped of their clothes and buried in the woods. Newspapers at the time were replete with articles reporting the wholesale slaughter of the Armenians "appeal to Turkey to stop massacres" headlined the New York Times on April 28, 1915, just as the killing began.

On October 7th of that year, the Times reported that 800,000 Armenians had been "slain in cold blood in Asia Minor." In mid December 1915, the Times spoke of a million Armenians killed or in exile. Prominent citizens of the day, including America's Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau and Britain's Lord Bryce reported on the massacres in great detail.

Morgenthau was appalled of what he would later call sadistic orgies of rape, torture and murder. Lord Bryce, a former British Ambassador to the United States, worked to raise awareness of and money for the victims of what he called the most colossal crime in the history of the world. In October 1915 the Rockefeller Founda-

tion contributed \$30,000, a sum worth more than half a million today, to a relief fund for Armenia.

For the most part, the memory of the genocide persists through the efforts of people who were born decades after the slaughter. The generation of Armenians with direct memory of the genocide is almost gone. The children are aging. Much of the rest of the world has moved on, reluctant to dredge up unpleasant memories and the ire of modern Turkey. But even now almost a century after the start of the genocide, some survivors are still with us and are, in fact, with us in this Committee room.

They have come to watch this Congress take a step toward righting an historic injustice. Mrs. Rose Baboyan was born in 1913 in the town Kharpert. When she was 1 year old, her father left her family to come to the United States. Rose and her two sisters—had two sisters and one brother. Both her sisters were massacred by the Turks in 1915. Her brother was injured and later died. Rose became separated from her mother and the two were not reunited for 2 years. Homeless and destitute, she and her mother made their way to America in the last 1920s. Mrs. Lusazine Tatarian was born in 1917 in Kilis, Turkey and ended up in Aleppo, Syria, later emigrating to the United States. She lost all her family, except for her father who later died from depression after the massacre.

Yeretsin Sirarpi Khoyan is 100 years old and was born in Istanbul. During and after the genocide, she worked with eight other children who were orphaned as a result of the genocide. And I want to thank these three fine ladies for being with us today. What happened to Mrs. Baboyan, Mrs. Tatarian and Yeretsin Khoyan and their families was terrible but not remarkable. All over the Ottoman Empire, Armenian children and parents fled from their homes with only the clothes of their backs.

But for those of us who care deeply about this issue, their stories are a reminder that we must redouble our efforts to ensure that our nation, which has championed liberty and human rights throughout its history is not complicit in Ankara's effort to obfuscate what happened between 1915 and 1923. We are still by tacitly siding with those who deny the Armenian genocide, we have hollowed our commitment to never again let genocide occur.

Today we have two resolutions that declare without equivocation or qualification that the mass murder of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire was genocide. These should be easy resolutions for all of us, Republicans and Democrats, to support. The reason that we have yet to succeed in passing a resolution honoring the murdered Armenians is simple. The Government of Turkey refuses to acknowledge the genocide and has spent millions of dollars and countless hours of diplomatic effort to prevent us from commemorating the suffering of the Armenian people. Turkey's opposition has always centered on the assertion that acknowledging the victims of the Armenian genocide would cause an irreparable rift between the United States, an important ally. Ankara's behavior, in my view, is as inexplicable as it is shameful. Turkey bears responsibility for its decades of denial and for compounding the suffering of the Armenian people by attempting to blame the victims for the crime.

The Turkish legal system has been made an instrument to perpetuate the policy of denial. In the past 2 weeks, the Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles times and the Wall Street Journal have all run editorials against Turkey's decision to charge Orhan Pamuk, Turkey's most famous novelist, of violating a law against "denigrating Turkish identity." What gave rise to this charge carries a sentence of 3 years in prison. In February, Mr. Pamuk told the Swiss newspaper 30,000 Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in this land and nobody but me dares to talk about it.

Ankara also bears the blame for attempting to condition good relations with the United States on our acquiescence on Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide. Frankly, Mr. Chairman, I don't believe that American Turkish relations would be ruptured by an official American recognition of the genocide such as Ronald Reagan made and others. Numerous other national Parliaments, including those of France, Germany, Canada, Sweden and Argentina, have recognized the genocide and Turkey did not break off relations with those countries.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman's time has expired. Does he require additional time?

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Chairman if I might be allowed an additional minute, I will be able to conclude.

Chairman HYDE. Without objection, one additional minute—

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I will not object. I would just like to say that I would like to, as an opponent of this legislation, have the same amount of time.

Chairman HYDE. I suspected you would. And we will certainly grant it.

Mr. BURTON. God please you, my Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you.

Go ahead, Mr. Schiff.

Mr. SCHIFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The European Parliament has passed multiple resolutions recognizing the genocide and urging Turkey to recognize its Ottoman past. Has Turkey broken off relations with the European Union? No, in fact, Turkey seeks to join the European Union. I am sensitive to the important role that Turkey plays as a balancer in the Middle East and as a bulwark against Islamic extremism. I consider Turkey an ally of the United States. But that alliance cannot be used as a tool to escape from the past, no matter how uncomfortable that past is.

I have also read the letter sent to the Committee by the State Department yesterday evening. The letter states that the resolutions before the Committee could undermine United States-Turkey relations as well as the nascent dialogue between Ankara and Yerevan, frankly I find these arguments unpersuasive. There is no evidence that United States-Turkish relations—which are based on a broad array of shared interests—will be damaged. Nor is there any support for the State Department's assertion that Turkey is showing progress in coming to grips with its past.

The decision to prosecute Mr. Pamuk, one of its most prominent citizens, is further proof it is unwilling to even permit an honest discussion of the genocide by its own citizens.

On behalf of Mrs. Baboyan, Mrs. Tatarian, and Mrs. Khoyan, and millions no longer with us, I ask my colleagues to support both of these resolutions and to work to get them both the vote on the Floor. But we must do it soon for each year the events of 1915 to 1923 recede a bit more into the darkness of history.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman HYDE. I do not intend to take issue with anybody on this important issue. But in the interests of accuracy and fairness, I think we should bear in mind the massacres were the work of the Ottoman Empire, which was and is distinct from the Republic of Turkey, which is now in existence.

The Chair recognizes Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I know I look a lot younger but I have been here for 23 years in the Congress.

And, well, anyhow, I think I look a lot younger.

First of all, Mr. Chairman, I want to extend my sympathy to those people who have been named today who had relatives killed or mistreated during this period in history.

But after having said that, let me just say, we have debated this issue in the Committee and on the Floor of the House of Representatives for over 20 years.

And I want to give you some information that we have used in the past during these debates that I think is relevant. First of all, regarding the evidence or so-called evidence, that has been expressed today, credible historians, and I went to the Floor with a stack of books this high from historians who have a differing view on what happened during these time period.

And recognizing incredible historians legal scholars and even nations have differing opinions on this. So there is a divergence of opinion on what happened.

In addition, the Government of Turkey, the prime minister and the Parliament recently made a written offer to the Armenian Government to establish a joint commission—independent and outside both governments—in order to establish a common set of facts on this chapter in their common history.

They wanted to get this thing behind them. They said, let's sit down, let's create an independent agency to look at this and get the facts out and get it behind us. This thing happened almost 100 years ago, 80 to 100 years ago. And we are still beating on it 20 some years after I first got involved in a debate on the Floor of the House of Representatives. It seems to me we have an ally in Turkey. We work with Armenians. We have great friends in Armenia, and we ought to get on with the problems facing this country and this world today, terrorism, Katrina, and other things, instead of rehashing this thing over and over and over again, every anniversary of it. It makes no sense to me.

There should be a rapprochement between the sides that have differing views. And the Government of Turkey is trying to work that out and I applaud them for that.

There is no solid evidence that I have seen in 20-some years, that the Ottoman Turks intended to destroy all Armenians. In fact, Armenians not involved in the revolt against the Ottoman rule and those not living in eastern provinces were unmolested by the

Turks. That is an important fact to emphasize, Armenians in western Anatolia today, those not involved in the revolution, continue to live in peace and under the protection of the government. And they remain there, as I said today. Had the Ottoman Turks intended to destroy all Armenians, they surely would have attacked those settlements as well. That they didn't indicates to me that the genocide standard of specific intent can't be met in this case.

And as recently as the year 2000—2000—the United Nations made a point of issuing a statement that it had concluded no finding of genocide with regard to this case.

Now I could go on and on and on into all the arguments that have been raised over the years. And I understand there is a lot of pain—don't misunderstand—there is sympathy that goes out to those people who suffered. But the fact of the matter is the evidence is not there. There is a divergence of opinion on this issue, and it is something that we ought to put to bed.

And now that the Turkish Government wants to set up an independent commission to work with the Armenians to come up with a factual statement on what happened to get this thing resolved then I think that is what should be done.

And for the Congress of the United States—and I don't mean to say that we are wasting time—but for the Congress of the United States to continue to raise this issue year after year after year is something that we shouldn't be doing. We have other important things that need to be done. And I would urge this independent commission between the Turks and the Armenians to sit down, go through the historical facts, work this thing out, and resolve it once and for all instead of bringing it back to the Congress year after year after year. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. The Chair would remind the Members that both resolutions, Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Schiff, are being debated. The votes will be separate, but the debate covers both resolutions. I am now pleased to recognize Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, very much Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, there are three issues here. I would like to deal with each of them. And I would like to indicate why I am changing my position of 5 years ago when I lead the debate against this resolution.

The first issue relates to the technical definition of genocide.

The Encyclopedia Britannica states, and I quote, "genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a group of people because of their ethnicity, nationality, religion or race."

I think a strong case can be made that the tragedy that befell the Armenian people does not meet the technical definition of the word "genocide."

Large numbers of Armenians, particularly in western Turkey, survived this period. And in point of fact, people in western Armenia—in western Turkey of Armenian origin who were not politically active, the vast majority of them survived. So I think the argument can be made, as we have made it in the past, as I have made it in the past, that the technical term genocide is inappropriately applied to this horrific event.

The second point that I would like to make is that there isn't a single Member of this Committee or of this House who is not pro-

foundly moved and anguished over the Armenian people's unbearable suffering during this horrendous tragedy following the Second World War. Large numbers of Armenians were killed, raped, murdered, as a result of deprivation suffered during forced migration from their homes ordered by the Government of the Ottoman Empire.

It is also a historic fact that the Ottoman Government instituted a Draconian program of forced transfer of its Armenian population from its concentration on the Russian border to the interior of the Ottoman Empire in responding to a specific situation. There were nationalistic movements which I applaud, but from the point of view of the Ottoman Empire, this was not a centralized decision to exterminate the Armenian people.

So there are two issues here so far. One, the unspeakable suffering of the Armenian people, which we all recognize, and the President of the United States every year issues a statement acknowledging this and expressing our solidarity with the Armenian people; and the second, these horrors meeting or not meeting the technical definition of genocide.

But there is a third issue which, in my book, overrides the other two—and that is the issue of U.S. national interest and the attitude of other countries vis-a-vis U.S. national interests.

Let me give two examples from another arena.

As you well know, Mr. Chairman, I was one of those in this body who led the fight for including Russia as a member of the G-8, at a time when Russia was moving in the direction of the democracy, at a time when Mr. Yeltsin was committed to making Russia a more open and more democratic society.

But under Mr. Putin, an opposite trend took over.

The independence of the media was destroyed. The independence of Parliament was destroyed. Governors were no longer elected but appointed by the Kremlin, and we are seeing a dramatic undemocratization of Russia.

That is why Senator McCain, Senator Lieberman and our colleague, Christopher Cox and I, introduced the resolution excluding Russia from the G-8.

More recently, we had a similar situation with respect to India. One of our top foreign policy concerns is to prevent Iran from developing weapons of mass destruction. India publicly stated that it opposes our policy of transmitting this dispute at this stage to the U.N. Security Council.

This flies in the face of United States national interests, and this is why in recent weeks I have expressed sharp criticism of Indian foreign policy.

There is a similar issue with respect to Turkey.

And let me elaborate.

On March 1, 2003, at a time when American forces were gathered on the Turkish border to enter Iraq, and had they been allowed to do so, the entire evolution of our war in Iraq would have been dramatically more favorable for American forces and large numbers of American lives would have been spared.

As a matter of fact, the ongoing violence today is in no small measure attributable to Turkey's refusal to allow American forces to enter Iraq from the north.

This was a matter of major and historic consequence that Turkey caused and some of us, certainly I, will not overlook.

More recently, Mr. Chairman, when the distinguished prime minister of Lebanon was assassinated in a huge suicide bombing episode in the heart of Beirut, with large numbers of innocent people dying, including Prime Minister Hariri, the only country on the face of this planet which called for sympathy for the Syrian regime, which called for peace and stability and not disturbing the status quo with respect to us out of Syria, was Turkey.

I find this statement and this move incomprehensible.

Be that as it may, our Turkish friends need to understand that support from the United States for matters that are important to them, is predicated upon their support of things that are important to the United States.

This is the quid pro quo that I asked for from Russia. This is the quid pro quo I am asking for from India. And it is the quid pro quo I am asking from Turkey.

Turkey ignored our interests with respect to Syria. Turkey ignored our interests with respect to the movement of our own Armed Forces.

Under the circumstances, I will support both resolutions because I believe that our allies and friends from Russia, to India, to Turkey, must understand that if they expect the United States to support matters of great interests to them, we, in turn, under a reciprocal basis, expect them to support matters which are of great interest to us. I intend to vote for both resolutions, and I thank the Chair.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

Ms. McCollum.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I had an opportunity to attend in my district in St. Paul a remembrance of those who were victims of genocide. The Armenian committee warmly embraced and said prayers for the victims of genocide in Darfur. 1.5 million people, by a former Government, the Ottoman regime, died.

I think it is important to listen to what Mr. Schiff said in his statement about the age of those who are survivors.

We are running out of time as an international community to move forward toward peace and reconciliation by having an opportunity for those who are victims and those who remember the tragedy that was committed against those victims, to come together and heal. I am pleased that a joint commission is being discussed.

And I do want to say I have spoken to people in Turkey, and people within the Turkish Government, who would like to see this reconciliation and healing moving forward.

The fact that the Turkish Government has not done what many of us would like to see happen right away, I think is important. But also equally important, is that there are many in Turkey who do realize that truth and reconciliation and a recognition of history would go a long way in healing many wounds. It is important that we look to what has happened in history. Look at our own country. Native Americans, the Japanese internment, and in my state of Minnesota, people with mental illness that were warehoused, buried, without even a marker to recognize them as individuals.

We have to acknowledge when we have had failures. We have to acknowledge when we have hurt one another.

The failure to do so sends our children a signal.

It sends our children a signal that it doesn't matter what you do. People will forget about it. There is no lesson to be learned here from the way that we treated one another cruelly, inhumanely. There is no judgment.

I do support both resolutions. But I would like to say this to the Turkish Government.

You are moving forward—slowly, but forward.

And I appreciate and I respect and I acknowledge that.

But time is running out.

As a Member of this Committee, I see it as my responsibility to try to be consistent on policies.

I recognize that genocide in Darfur. I saw it with my own eyes. That was a government attacking its own citizens.

And for me, what happened in the Ottoman Government, not the Turkish Republic, but the Ottoman Government, recognizing that history, was a government that attacked its own citizens.

Fortunately, that government no longer exists. However, people living in the region have to have an accurate reflection of history that allows people to move forward in peace and reconciliation.

And to the Turkish Government, I would also look to say, as I said to the Ambassador of Turkey when he was in my office shortly after the Turkish Parliament took a vote not to allow United States troops, I respect their sovereignty, I respect their democracy, and I respect their right to determine how Turkey engages in policy.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you.

Mr. Smith of New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, let me say at the outset that I support both resolutions, but I want to pay a special sense of gratitude, and thanks to Mr. Radanovich for his persistence in pursuing this very important recognition of the genocide that occurred against the Armenian people.

I remind my colleagues that back in 2000, on September 14, 2000, I chaired a hearing on Armenian genocide that looked into a resolution that Mr. Radanovich had introduced then, H.R. Res. 398. It was a bipartisan resolution—David Bonior was the principal cosponsor, Mr. Radanovich was the prime sponsor—which really helped to bring this Congress, I think, to a recognition—even though it never made it to the Floor, it was stopped by President Clinton, intervened and then put pressure on the Speaker not to bring the resolution forward. But the simple fact of the matter is as I did my own research, I had known about it, but not with the kind of depth that this hearing prompted me to do in terms of my research and the Committee's research. And it became very clear, compelling and overwhelmingly clear. And even when we had the witnesses. And we had a Turkish Ambassador come and testify. And I asked him a number of pointed questions to which he did not give—and it is right on the record—in my view, satisfactory answers to those questions.

So thank you to Mr. Radanovich, especially for your tenacity, those who forget the past are condemned to relive it. And I think

your leadership has kept this issue alive. And I am deeply, deeply grateful.

Let me say briefly, that in 1915 there were 2,000,000 Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire. They were living in an region that they inhabited—that they inhabited—for some 2,500 years. By 1923, well over 90 percent of these Armenians had disappeared. Most of them—as many as 1.5 million—were dead.

The remainder had been forced into exile. The government of the empire, whose leaders were members of the movement known as the Young Turks called this campaign against Armenians a mass deportation, rather than a mass murder. But the United States Ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau, called it, and I quote him, “a campaign of race extermination.” The British, French and Russian Governments accused the Young Turk Government of a crime against humanity, the first time in history that charge was ever made by one state against another. And even the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the successor state, as Mr. Hyde pointed out a moment ago, to the Ottoman Empire tried and convicted a number of high ranking Young Turk officials for their role in what the Turkish Government then called the massacre and destruction of the Armenians.

When the term “genocide” was invented in 1944, to describe the systematic destruction of an entire people, its author, Rafael Lemkin, illustrated the term by saying it was, and I quote him, “the sort of thing Hitler did to the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians.”

Unfortunately, memories seem to have faded. The Government of the Republic of Turkey now denies that the Armenian genocide ever happened. They do not deny that people died by the hundreds of thousands or even that these deaths were often preceded by mass rape, torture, and other unspeakable atrocities. But they fall on the standard arguments that they have always used to defend the indefensible.

They say it happened during wartime, and that the Armenians were being deported because many of them were in sympathy with the enemies of the empire, and that the atrocities were random acts committed by civilians and by soldiers acting without authorization from the central government. They dismissed contrary statements by the representatives of the governments of the United States, France and England, by saying that these officials were biased against the Ottoman Empire and against the Turkish people. But this dismissal ignores similar statements—and I underscore this—similar statements made by the Ambassadors of Germany and Italy who were allied with the empire in the first world war. It also dismisses the undeniable fact that the Armenians were being forcibly relocated a desert in which even those who were not massacred had no serious chance to survive.

Even among those in this country who do not deny the basic facts of the Armenian genocide, there often seems to be a conspiracy of silence in Congress and elsewhere and a lot of obfuscation. Whenever the issue threatens to surface in Congress, we are quietly but firmly reminded by diplomats and other Executive Branch officials, and we have gotten that again from the State Department, that Turkey is a NATO ally—and I agree with that.

They are a good ally. And they have assisted us in pursuing some of our objectives in the Middle East and elsewhere. Yet Germany is also an important ally. And these same diplomats and officials would never dream of denying or ignoring the Holocaust.

Finally we say, friends don't let friends commit human rights abuses or crimes against humanity or refuse to come to terms with them when once they have happened. Ironically, the principal effect of this systematic denial of the Armenian genocide is that it forces those who insist on the acknowledgement of the genocide—and I absolutely agree with them—to prove their case over and over again in more and more detail.

So instead of learning the lessons of the past and applying them and having reconciliation based on truth, we find ourselves arguing about a terrible and despicable genocide that occurred almost a century ago.

Again, I want to thank Mr. Radanovich for his leadership. I thank Mr. Schiff for his leadership as well. These resolutions need to move.

Just recently I returned—and will complete my statement on this, Mr. Chairman—from Darfur. I am proud of the fact that President Bush, Colin Powell, and Dr. Rice call what is going on in Darfur—the killing of at least 180,000 people—genocide. We didn't do it in Rwanda when something on the order of 800,000 people were massacred. That clearly was a genocide. We didn't do it in the Balkans. We need to learn from history.

And as I said earlier, this is a Holocaust—or a genocide that needs to be recognized, and I think that is when the healing can begin.

Chairman HYDE. Ms. Napolitano—excuse me.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that the statement by Mr. Radanovich on the resolution be placed in the record at this time.

Chairman HYDE. Without objection.

Mrs. Napolitano.

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I too rise in support of both resolutions 195 and 316 with both of my good friends recognizing the Armenian genocide formally, so to speak.

I have the second largest constituency of Armenians in the city of Montebello and nearby communities. So I have had firsthand conversations with many of the survivors who have begged us to carry the word to Congress to allow for the recognition of what really truly was genocide.

And, yes, it was the Ottoman Empire, but it is still in the hands of the country that can right that wrong, much like, and of course there is very little comparison—the United States admitting that the internment of Japanese during World War II was a mistake.

I just want to mention to Mr. Barton my good friend's comments about us coming back year after year. Well, if that is what it takes, then we need to do it, to remind the American people that this is wrong. And any wrong needs to be righted, no matter whether it is today or 100 years from now. We are all part of the family. And I agree with my colleague's statement that with Turkey not allowing our troops to have access to the northern part was a tremendous fallback for us and has not if diminished my memory of sit-

ting on this dais a while back, about a year or 2 ago, I can't remember, my mind is so short, that allowed for money to go to Turkey.

And I questioned the reason why were we giving money, it was \$75 million, when they would not allow our United States troops to cross the northern borders into Kosovo. And that to me sticks in my mind. And yes we are allies, but our friends must recognize that we all must be up front about what is right and the recognition of the Armenian genocide is right. So thank you, Mr. Radanovich. Thank you, Mr. Schiff. And I yield to my good friend, Adam Schiff, the remainder of my time.

Mr. SCHIFF. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding and I also want to thank my colleague from California, Mr. Lantos, for his remarks, and Mr. Lantos brings a phenomenal experience to this Committee on every issue and it means a great deal that he would study this and deliberate on it as he has and share his thoughts with us.

I want to comment very briefly on references that several of my colleagues have made to Darfur.

This year we recognize the terrible events in Darfur's genocide and properly so.

It is genocide.

And yet we struggle today to recognize the deliberate murder of 1.5 million Armenians. Does anyone question that if the Armenian genocide was going on today, that we would recognize it and we would demand action?

Has the passage of time so diminished the importance of 1.5 million lives?

My colleague from Indiana says we should stop "rehashing" this thing.

Has the passage of time turned the murder of a million and a half people into a thing to be rehashed? Can it be our policy to recognize genocide by the politically weak in Darfur, but not by the politically powerful, in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire? If that be our policy, then what does it say about the moral authority of the country that will recognize genocide committed by the weak but not by the powerful, by our foe but not by our friend?

I agree with Mr. Smith. Sometimes you have to have the most difficult and painful conversations with your friends. Indeed, you are the only one who can.

This is a conversation that has to take place, if America is not prepared to recognize the murder of a million and a half people, why should Turkey? And I thank my colleagues and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman HYDE. I expect votes on the Floor around 11:45 to noon. We have nine Members have requested time to speak.

I urge Members to be brief so we can conclude debate and vote on these two resolutions hopefully—but I think too hopefully—before we go to the Floor.

But in any event, Mr. Royce, of California.

Mr. ROYCE. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will just make my brief comments in support of House resolution 316, of which I am an original co sponsor. I carried a similar resolution in the State Senate in California some years ago that was enacted on this same

basis. And I can share firsthand conversations that I had a generation ago with a number of survivors of the Armenian genocide, who, as children hid with their Turkish neighbors, as their entire cities were depopulated of every Armenian in those cities, every one was killed.

Well, this resolution focuses singularly on the United States record of the Armenian genocide. And as the text indicates, our national archives, in fact, are replete with thousands of pages, documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people. As the genocide was being committed, the United States launched a diplomatic, political and humanitarian campaign to end that carnage. We should be proud of that. Yet to this day, for a variety of reasons, we fail to recognize the events that began 90 year ago for what they were. And I believe what they were was genocide. And we have a chance to set this record straight today.

Opponents will ask, why now? And they will undoubtedly warn of all the dire actions Turkey will take against the United States if this resolution passes. Yet it is important that this Committee doesn't lose sight between what is right and what is wrong and speak out about the wrongs of the world and if there is one question, if there is one singular issue that should convince every one of us to vote for this resolution, in order to have it be heard, it is this fact.

It is the fact that Orhan Pamuk now faces 3 years in prison for what? For daring to even say that this should be discussed in Turkey today. Now, if that is the response in Turkey, then this message has to be heard. And I will share with you that if we pass this message out of this Committee, if we pass this resolution, it will be heard because that action, that court action against him was as wrong as it is in incredible, frankly, colleagues, and I urge the passage of this bipartisan resolution to affirm the proud chapter in United States history at the time to halt that Armenian genocide and to call it what it is, a genocide. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. Ms. Lee of California.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, and I too want to thank Mr. Schiff and Mr. Radanovich, and both you, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Lantos for bringing this resolution to this Committee. The Armenian genocide is one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century. And many political leaders, scholars and professional organizations are beginning to document the truth so that everyone acknowledges and remembers this devastating event to the Armenian population.

But our Government and our foreign policy also must be truthful and acknowledge what we know to be true, that over a million Armenians were murdered, hundreds of thousands were displaced and deported. And there are still a number of survivors and people in America who remember this and their children deserve this acknowledgement. Healing must begin. Healing must begin. And this resolution—both of these resolutions actually are steps forward in this process.

We must never, never forget the heinous acts that victimized their families. If we let such atrocities be forgotten, then we are in danger of letting them be repeated. Unfortunately, there is a present day genocide occurring by the Government of Sudan against the people of Darfur.

And I, too, witnessed this devastation earlier this year.

So we must do all in our power to ensure that atrocities like these never happen again. That is why this resolution—these resolutions are extremely important.

We must call it for what it is, and that is genocide. And that is the right thing to do, regardless of any possible much repercussions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield the balance of my time.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Issa.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman I know we have a vote coming so I will be brief, but I wanted to touch on just a very few points. First of all, if we are going to have debate about the meaning of the word “genocide,” that is fine. Let’s do it in the report language. Let’s recognize that the term, Armenian genocide, has been an established term for 90 years.

Second of all, Mr. Chairman, although I know that you said you had no position on these two bills, I do appreciate that you called this murder by a now extinct country that although the—in fact, the Ottoman Empire is no longer around, the terrible loss of life due to murder is undeniable. I believe, as Congresswoman Lee said, that if we don’t act on this, if we say well, it wasn’t quite genocide, and that that is the test, then quite frankly, is Darfur living up to the meaning of genocide?

What if we are only talking about one part of a common people? Does that, by definition, mean its that it is not genocide? I would no longer deny the genocide than I would deny the Holocaust. And I think anyone who chooses to do so lumps together two somewhat similar, although generation apart terrible events in history. There is no longer a fascist German Government, but the Government of Germany does not deny the Holocaust just because it occurred under a previous Administration.

We cannot allow Turkey to deny something which they are—it is not the responsibility of the Turkish people, but it is a legacy that will not go away. As a Lebanese American, I grew up knowing about this on a very intimate basis, because so much people were driving into Lebanon and into that region by the exodus that was forced upon them. So to, once again, keep my promise to be brief, I intend to support these bills. I certainly believe that there should be an openness and a freeness to combine both of the pieces of legislation, if possible, to find a way to make sure those who have a sensitivity about definitions, that it is done so in the appropriate manner in the report language.

However, at some point, as Mr. Burton said, the Congress has to finish this and move on. We are not going to finish it and move on by looking at political expediency of whether we need Turkey with us on a particular day, when, in fact, 90 years ago it was not the Government of Turkey, but the Government of the Ottoman Empire who committed or participated or allowed this atrocity to occur. And with that I yield back.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Wexler of Florida.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I wish to associate myself with the heartfelt sentiments of my colleagues regarding the horrific tragedy that befell hundreds of thousands of Armenians from 1915 to 1923. I deeply sympathize with the pain and great

loss suffered by Armenians across the world as they recall this horrific period in history. While I very much appreciate the efforts of the sponsors of these two resolutions, I do not believe that passage of these resolutions will bring Armenians and Turks any closer to reconciliation.

I am afraid if the resolutions are approved by the Committee, both the Armenian and Turkish communities here in America and across the world will be pushed further apart, perpetuating a standoff that benefits neither side, leaving this festering wound open and unhealed.

It is time for all parties, in my view, with the assistance of the United States and the international community, to place greater emphasis on bringing both the Armenian and Turkish groups together and encourage greater dialogue between academics, historians and the government officials of these two countries.

While efforts to this end have been made in the past, Turkey has recently extended an olive branch, and I believe Prime Minister Erdogan and his government are sincere in their desire to bring closure to the very sad chapter in history. This past April, Prime Minister Erdogan sent Armenian President Kocharian a letter seeking the creation of a bilateral nongovernmental commission to fully research this issue and reach conclusions through a full examination of all relevant archives. To this date, President Kocharian, as I understand it, has neither accepted nor rejected this initiative. This is an unprecedented step. And we should be encouraging such efforts by the leaders in both countries to make it possible for a comprehensive examination of the issue.

I also support the efforts of the organizers of an academic conference to be held this, or next week, in Turkey on this very issue. I would encourage leaders in Armenia to reciprocate and respond to the degree that they can in kind to these Turkish initiatives and help create an atmosphere conducive to greater dialogue and hopefully to eventual reconciliation.

Mr. Chairman, my position is consistent with successive Republican and Democratic Administrations which yearly have issued statements recognizing the horrific tragedies of this period, the most recent one by President Bush.

If I may, Mr. Chairman, I think it is important that we present a full picture of the record of Turkey and I would offer these few observations. When the Turkish Parliament rejected the American request of our ability to enter Iraq, I, along with our colleague, Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Rogers, went to Turkey to help articulate what we thought were Turkey's and America's interests. I was disappointed that we did not have the ability to enter using the Turkish fronts.

However it would be an incomplete record if it was not pointed out, if we are judging Turkey's role in the context of our latest endeavor in Iraq, to not point out that for more than a decade, we ran, along with our allies, the British, a no-fly zone that was run out of Incirlik Air Force in Turkey, and I would respectfully argue that the primary reason that our military was so successful so quickly in Iraq was because for more than a decade, we had the ability to debilitate Saddam Hussein's military forces because of

the no-fly zone, because of the greatness of our effort with our allies, the British.

And the Turkish Government allowed that to happen, even though the net effect of that no-fly zone was greater autonomy for the Kurds, even though Turkey, of course, does not support a new or separate identity of a Kurdish state. They did that because they are our NATO ally. They did that because they have been with this country since the Korean war.

With respect to our efforts in Afghanistan—let us not forget, my colleagues, please, that on two occasions, Turkey lead the international forces in Afghanistan.

When the war—our war in Afghanistan was being coined as America's war against the Muslim world, Turkey stepped up, and led those international forces in Afghanistan not ones but twice. Right after the British got done, the Turks came in. Let us not be so forgetful.

Let us also acknowledge that even though we had great disappointment with the Turkish Parliament decision not to let our troops go through, but when President Bush sent out a call for help and assistance, the Turks came up with an offer for 10,000 troops—10,000 troops they were willing to place in Iraq with our troops. We didn't take that offer. Because of our interests, we decided not to. But Turkey, other than the British, offered more troops than any other country on the face of this earth.

And if we want to talk about the relevance of Turkey to Middle East peace, just last week, the foreign minister of Pakistan met with the foreign minister of Israel in an unprecedented step in Turkey, all arranged in great part by the Turkish Government and the Turkish prime minister.

Do I agree with the sentiments expressed in terms of Turkey's role and position at the time with respect to Syria? Yes. And I don't think anybody expressed a more vehement view in opposition to the Turks than I did in regard to what I thought was a disgraceful position, as Mr. Lantos rightfully pointed out, that the Turks took in regard to Syria at the time of Prime Minister—former Prime Minister Hariri's assassination.

And there are times to disagree. But I also respectfully suggest—particularly when dealing with a NATO ally—that if we present the record, let it be a full record, criticize them as valid as we should when they have done what we think is wrong. But also acknowledge that they have also done extraordinary things as well as an ally that are in America's interests and their interests at the same time. Thank you, Mr. Chairman for your indulgence.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. McCotter.

Mr. MCCOTTER. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I will endeavor to be succinct. I will not try to sound curt in doing so. I will not rehash my view of the United States-Turkish relationship. I would like to address some specific points that were raised and perhaps reemphasize some. I would absolutely find it fascinating as a politician that someone who takes office is not more than happy to blame problems on the people who preceded them. And yet we see Turkey unwilling to admit that the genocide was committed by the Ottoman Empire, even to the extent that it will deal with its own citizens. So I think the distinction between the Ottoman Empire and

the Turkish Republic—it may not be lost upon our Chairman, but it seems to be lost upon the Turkish Republic.

Secondly, I do not find it persuasive that the U.N. Does not consider this a genocide. I don't find anything the U.N. Does particularly persuasive, but maybe that is just me.

Thirdly, the argument about time does not hold water with me. I know it has only been 90 years. And perhaps they will eventually get around to admitting that they did it, but I am not going to wait. As an Irish-Catholic, we don't forget much, and I don't think it is fair to ask the Armenians to either.

Regarding the actual genocide itself when we discussed the number of survivors, we tend to confuse outcome with intent. Fortunately, no genocide that we know of has been entirely successful, and yet it remains a genocide because of the intent of the actors.

In fact, we need look no further to find out whether the Armenian genocide was, in fact, considered one by Hitler who, on the eve of the Holocaust, said: "Who today remembers the annihilation of the Armenians?" He thought it was a genocide. And he used it as an example in his own mind to say to himself that he could get away with it and perpetrate it.

Finally, as regards our relationship with Turkey. I will call it even so far, you know, I will consider what they did in Afghanistan a payback for us keeping their existence in place through the heroic act of the United States Congress and President Harry Truman in the Aid to Greece and Turkey package and that have passed in the wake of World War II, with the help of people like Senator Arthur Vandenberg. So let's not forget the record is a one way street.

But if we do not have honesty and truth amongst ourselves in our relations with our allies, then we will have no relationship at all. I think it was the poet Alfred Lord Tennyson that wrote, "Our one white lie sits like a little ghost here on the threshold of our enterprise."

I can see no long-term relationship with a nation where we must tiptoe around the truth of what we have done or what they have done in the name of national security. If we do not respect the humanity of each other, if we do not foster and encourage the humane treatment of others by each other, then that one lie will lead to the termination of a relationship.

I support the resolutions, and I thank you.

Chairman HYDE. We have three votes pending, and it is approaching lunchtime. The Chair will adjourn until 2 o'clock. We have nine Members who still wish to speak, and we assume their wishes will still be strong at 2 o'clock, so we will see you at 2. The Committee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman HYDE. The Committee will come to order.

The Chair takes note that today is September 15th, marking the 55th anniversary of the Inchon Landing which was carried out by U.S. and allied forces under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. The high tides at Inchon made this a risky operation, but it paid off handsomely. The Communist North Korean forces were completely caught off guard and the Inchon Landing turned the tide of the Korean War. Without Inchon our ally, the Republic of

Korea, would not exist as a separate country today. So let us honor the memory of General MacArthur and those soldiers who fell at Inchon to preserve freedom on the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. Let's also honor those Korean War veterans still with us today for their sacrifice and service to the country.

Now when the Committee recessed we were debating H. Con. Res. 195 and H. Res. 316 simultaneously. The Schiff amendment in the nature of a substitute was pending to H.Con.Res 195. Members who had requested time to speak are Mr. Tancredo. I have Mr. Meeks, Mr. Menendez, Mr. Smith of Washington, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Crowley, Ms. Berkley and Mr. Engel, and we have a latecomer, Mr. Berman. I am sure his contribution will be well worth the wait.

Mr. Tancredo is recognized.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for one of these resolutions today, and I do so reluctantly. I intend to vote for it again as I have voted for it in the past. Hopefully, however, this will be the last time we have to vote on this particular resolution or a resolution dealing with this issue because, although certainly after careful examination and study I agree with the premise that the acts of genocide were committed by the Ottoman Empire against individuals of Armenian dissent, and while it is important for this Congress and especially this Committee to recognize the travesties of human history, I find it disturbing that we have been forced to take sides in a treacherous and polarizing disagreement between two American allies.

Now as we have stated, and it has been stated here in the Committee by others, the Government of Turkey has put forth an olive branch to their Armenian neighbors, Prime Minister Erdogan has proposed a panel made up of scholars from both countries to study the events of 1915 and share their findings with the world in hope of coming to consensus, agreement suitable for both parties.

Mr. Chairman, I do not know if the Prime Minister's proposal will permanently heal the wounds between Armenians and Turks; however, I bring this to my colleagues again because I firmly believe that this Nation's on-going third-party involvement in this issue is causing more harm than good.

Reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey will only be successful if the two nations work together to find a solution that is agreeable to both parties. After this resolution clears the Committee I would urge my colleagues to allow our allies, Turkey and Armenia, to negotiate and deliberate without further interference or deterrence from this Congress. We should be working to heal the wounds of history, and I don't think this resolution aids us in that pursuit.

I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you. Mr. Meeks of New York.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me first say democracy is a wonderful thing, and I don't think that—one of the things that worries me is the climate in which this hearing is being held, because for me it is not a situation where we should be putting our thumbs in the eyes of the Turkish Government because of what our foreign policies are, because of democracy actually. They, in a democratic way, decided

whether we could enter Iraq in a certain way or not, it was done fairly based upon their constitution. And I don't think that because democracy worked in their country—even though it did not agree with what we would have liked here, at least some of us—that we should say now that we are going to punish them or do something that really upsets them. And I think that demeans the issue of which we are here to consider. I think that we need to take the issue on its face. And clearly in my estimation we have had, I agree with Mr. Tancredo, two good allies, and we should not do away with one as opposed to the other.

I simply wish—and it is easy for us to say at times do as I tell you to do and not necessarily do as I do. I wish that some of the same outcry took place here in this house as it fortunately passed on the Senate side when we talked about the middle passage and slavery in this country, where millions of individuals died, yet from the time that I have been here we have tried to pass an act that—in this House—a bill to say that simply that we apologize for the act of slavery in this country. It is easy to go to someone else and say this is what you must do, but we must take an internal look at ourselves and say what do we do when there is an injustice.

We have yet to rectify that from within ourselves. We have yet to freely admit—even when I look at the school books and what we are teaching our kids, it is barely there that this country was a country that furthered slavery. We don't talk about it, we try to hide it, that is wrong. And if ever in this country we are going to come to a position that we can really heal the racial divide, well, people were killed and brutalized simply because of the color of their skin. If ever we are going to come to the situation where we can heal and if we want the moral authority to be able to tell someone else what they should do, then I say we should clean up our own house and do what we should do first, because that is the only way that I believe there is true reconciliation.

That doesn't take away from the fact that when I look and I ask, and I have talked to scholars, I can feel the pain of the Armenian people who feel, I am sure, the same pain that I feel for my ancestors. And so it is my hope that, as I have heard some of my colleagues say, that both sides sit down and talk about it and try to resolve it. I think that is the proper way to get it done.

But I do believe—you know, I wish for others what I wish for myself, and so I support this resolution simply because I believe it is the right thing to do. I wish we would do the right thing within our own house, to acknowledge that individuals, simply because of their ethnicity—and you can't, you look at the facts and you see the millions of individuals that were killed, and it is not about blame.

See, I think we go about these things wrong sometimes. We want to blame this one or blame that one. It is about reconciliation. It is about trying to make things whole so that we can be better. Because one thing in the end, you can be black, you can white, you can be Turkish, you can be Armenian, there is one thing that unites all of us. Whether you are from whatever part of the globe you are, we are all human beings, and we have got to figure out a way that as humans we can get along. We can recognize the mistakes of the past so that we can correct the future and have a bet-

ter future as human beings, and I think that is the direction that we need to go in.

I don't think that this is the perfect thing, and I'm not even sure—reading it, you know, I hope and pray that we don't divide friends further. But I do believe we have got to acknowledge the fact that they were a people that unjustly were killed, were raped, were robbed simply because of their ethnicity, and we have got to acknowledge that and we have got to try to heal and do better.

I would urge my Members, my colleagues, that let's do the right thing at home first, let's make sure that we are on strong moral ground first. Let's make sure that we move—and I should say also—and make sure that we practice what we preach.

So I will support the two resolutions, but I want to make sure that it is for the reasons of not poking my thumb at the eye of the Turkish Government, of the Turkish people. It is because of the pain of the people, many and some of whom are still alive today, because I know if my ancestors who have suffered under the bitterness of slavery were alive today they would love to hear the United States of America say to them we are sorry for what we did. I wait to hear and wait for that day for us to do the right thing in our own house.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman HYDE. Thank you. The Chair would like to suggest that notice has been taken of the shameful institution of slavery and that apologies have been made in program after program after program as well as in the—with the bodies of soldiers who lost their lives by the—I don't remember the number, but it is astronomical—in the Civil War, to eliminate the scourge and the shame of slavery. And I don't think the rest of America, the part of America that didn't support slavery has a great deal to apologize for, at least in terms of recognizing the evil, the peculiar institution of slavery. And they have been making amends for years. There are many programs that benefit people who suffered under the scourge of slavery. I have ancestors who were killed in the Civil War fighting slavery. So I don't think a lot of us have that much to apologize for. But we do recognize and regret profoundly the treating of people as less than equal citizens. That wasn't the promise of America, and slowly but surely we are regaining it.

I appreciate Mr. Meeks' views on the matter, and I recognize the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I realize I have spoken once on the first resolution, this is on the second one, but my feelings are the same on both.

First of all, I would like to ask unanimous consent that we insert into the record a letter from the U.S. Department of State regarding these two resolutions, the Administration and the State Department for a number of reasons—which all of you have before you. I have passed these out to everybody—explains very strenuously why they think this legislation should not be passed.

Mr. SCHIFF. May I make a parliamentary inquiry.

Chairman HYDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHIFF. We are still on the first resolution, and I don't know if the Chair wants to get into the practice of two rounds of 5 minutes on each, but I would make the same request that my colleague

from Indiana did, that if he would go an extra 5 minutes, I would like the same opportunity.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I thought we were talking about both resolutions at once. I apologize if I was misinformed.

Chairman HYDE. No, you are correct, we are debating both resolutions. Every Member is entitled to 5 minutes on each resolution, and if somebody wants to talk another five, having used five, they are welcome to.

So Mr. Schiff, do you have additional time you want?

Mr. SCHIFF. Yes, I do. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, but I will wait until my colleague finishes, of course.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I once again will renew my request that, without objection, that be submitted for the record because I think the State Department's views are very well stated.

Chairman HYDE. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

[The information referred to follows:]



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SEP 15 2000

Dear Chairman Hyde:

We understand the House International Relations Committee will mark up H. Con. Res. 195 and H. Res. 316 this week. President Bush recognized the tragic events that occurred in eastern Anatolia during the waning days of the Ottoman Empire in his April 24th statement commemorating the 90th anniversary of this tragedy for all humanity.

We understand your commitment to having these resolutions considered by the Committee, but we want to underscore the Administration's strong opposition to the adoption of H. Con. Res. 195 and H. Res. 316. House Floor debate on an Armenia resolution could damage U.S. - Turkish relations and could undermine progress by Ankara and Yerevan as they begin quiet talks to address the issue and look to the future. We find it especially promising that Turkey will host an unprecedented conference on Ottoman Armenians in Istanbul on September 23-25.

The U.S. continues to encourage scholarly, civil society and diplomatic discussion of the tragic events of 1915, as well as the nascent economic and political dialogue between the Turkish and Armenian governments to help all parties come to terms with the past. We were pleased by the Turkish government's positive approach to the letter exchange between Prime Minister Erdogan and President Kocharian and hope to see continued effort at establishing a dialogue.

These resolutions could undermine efforts to rebuild a partnership between the United States and Turkey in pursuit of America's broad national security interests in the eastern Mediterranean, Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East – areas where our NATO ally, Turkey, can play a

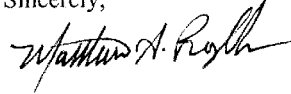
The Honorable

Henry J. Hyde, Chairman,
Committee on International Relations,
House of Representatives.

critical role in advancing democracy, tolerance, regional peace, and stability. Turkey's traditions of secular democracy within a predominantly Muslim society can inspire people throughout the broader Middle East and beyond who thirst for freedom. Turkish cooperation is also indispensable to efforts to finding a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Turkey offers important support to our efforts to build a peaceful and democratic Iraq, including through our use of the Incirlik air base to support our troops and bring stability and democracy to Iraq. Turkey is also emerging as a key transit hub for Caspian energy, bolstering commercial competition in global energy markets. This will enhance our energy security and strengthen the independence and prosperity of countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Adoption of H. Con. Res. 195 and H. Res. 316 by the full House could affect adversely all of these interests. I urge you to oppose these resolutions.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Matthew A. Reynolds". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Matthew" being the most prominent part.

Matthew A. Reynolds
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

Mr. BURTON. I want to point out one other thing that has not been mentioned. We are talking about an alleged genocide that took place between 70 and 90 years ago, but I would like to talk about a genocide that took place on February 26, 1992, which nobody is talking about today. There was a town called Khojali, that was an Azerbaijani town in Armenia, and the Armenians drove those people out of that town on February 26, 1992. Brutally murdered were 613 people, whole families were annihilated, 1,275 were captured and a thousand civilians were maimed or crippled, and another 150 people were unaccounted for. A Russian human rights group called Memorial reported that scores of the corpses bore traces of profanation.

Doctors on a hospital train in Aghdam noted that no less than four corpses had been scalped and one that had been beheaded, in one case a live scalping. Various other witnesses reported horrifying details of the massacre. The late Azerbaijani journalist, Mustafayev, who was the first to film the aftermath of the massacre, wrote an account of what he saw and he said some children were found with their ears cut off, the skin had been cut from the left side of an elderly woman's face, and men had been scalped.

Human Rights Watch called the tragedy at the time the largest massacre to date in the conflict. The New York Times wrote about truckloads of bodies and described acts of scalping and other inhumane activities.

The only reason I bring this up is to point out that there was a genocide in 1992 in this particular town by the people who are raising Cain about the Armenian Genocide—supposed Armenian Genocide—that took place 75 to 90 years ago. And you know, our State Department talks about these being allies of ours, they have talked about sitting down together. The Turkish Government has said that they would like to sit down and have a commission look at both sides of the issue, have historians from both areas analyze this and come up with a final statement on what happened during this time period. That would solve the problem. For us, as I said before, to bring this up year after year after year serves no useful purpose. There has been atrocities on both sides, they need to be laid to rest, and the only way to do this is for the sides to sit down and work this thing out and have a historical reference made on what actually happened.

To pass this kind of resolution only upsets our allies. Turkey has been a great ally of ours. I think this kind of criticism serves no useful purpose, and I sincerely hope my colleagues will keep this in consideration when they vote, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I speak in strong support of both of these resolutions. Clearly the statement that those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. That statement is as true today as it was almost a hundred years ago when the philosopher George Santayana first wrote it, and the resolutions before us that we are voting on today ask us to do just that, to remember. They simply ask us to remember that the Ottoman Empire brutally tortured and murdered 1.5million Armenians

90 years ago and that half a million Armenians were forced to flee their country.

They ask us to honor those who survived the genocide, although there are few survivors still today of the Armenian Genocide living, and I believe some may be here with us today. Those who endured the horrors of 1915 are living witnesses. They ask that we honor those who died and call for recognition of the genocide carried out by the Ottoman Turkish Government, and they ask that we remember so that we don't repeat the same tragedy anywhere in any country of the world.

In my view, America must recognize that the atrocities were committed and that those atrocities committed between 1915 to 1923 constitute genocide. We don't use that word lightly, but the word itself makes a powerful statement about the horrors suffered by the Armenian people.

As Samantha Powers, the leading expert on genocide, said in a letter to the editor of the New York Times, and I quote, "The extermination of Armenians is recognized as genocide by the consensus of scholars of genocide and holocausts worldwide. The failure to acknowledge this trivializes—trivializes—a human rights crime of enormous magnitude."

Now, there are holocaust deniers. They deny the realities of the past. They deny the fact that there are numerous contemporaneous documentations of the Ottoman Government's campaign against the Armenians, including extensive records in Western newspapers and government documents in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States and even the Vatican. They would deny that that documentation unequivocally describes a systematic murder of the Armenian people and the destruction of Armenian life within the Ottoman Empire. They would deny that the United States Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., to the Ottoman Empire sends reports back to the United States back in 1915 in which he said, "The deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing, and from harrowing reports of eyewitnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion."

They would deny that Abram Elkus, who succeeded Morgenthau as the U.S. Ambassador in 1916, sent a statement back to the United States that the Ottoman Turks were continuing an "unchecked policy of extermination through starvation, exhaustion and brutality." They would deny all of that.

Now, their willingness to put on the altar of expediency and present day interests to deny the reality of all of the past is a mistake in and of itself that I hope we would have learned, is a mistake in itself that I hope we would have learned. How many times for present day expediency have we not supported and turned the eye away toward the abuses of a dictatorship or a regime simply because it was in our interest at the time? The Shah in Iran, the Taliban when they were fighting the Russians, and on and on and on. We turned a blind eye to abuses of the present because of present day interests only to find ourselves with huge future problems.

Now, I think it is fitting and appropriate for the United States to pursue this course. Good friends and good allies can have strong and honest disagreements. And if the responses that we have seen from the Turkish Government—we hear about this olive branch being held out there, but then we also see what happens to those who suggest that there was a genocide and that it should be recognized, that is not in concurrence with a democracy.

So for all of those reasons I think it is fitting and appropriate that the Committee today adopt both of these resolutions, and I urge my colleagues to strongly support them.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Smith of Washington.

Mr. SMITH OF WASHINGTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to speak on this, and mostly I want to associate myself with the remarks of Representative Wexler and also Representative Tancredo earlier that the main issue here is reconciliation, is finding a way for the Armenians and the Turks to deal with this issue to both of their satisfaction, and to move forward with a positive relationship for them, and particularly with what Mr. Tancredo said, that this resolution does not help that process, it only drives the wedge further in and creates greater problems in that relationship.

And I think it is very important, since both Armenia and Turkey are critical allies of ours, that we find a way to resolve that in that way. Much has been made of Germany's recognition of the Holocaust. Germany came to that with people working with them, not with resolutions being forced upon them, and I think we should take that approach here as well.

I also wish to say that I also want to associate myself with Mr. Wexler's remarks about how important our relationship with Turkey is, and whether they have disagreed with us at points in the past, I don't think that is any reason whatsoever to support this resolution as sort of a tit for tat; if you don't agree with us, we will find a way to irritate you. I don't think that is the way we should approach it, both because I don't think that is appropriate in this resolution, but also because I think Turkey is a critical ally of ours. And particularly when you look at the main struggle for us in the world right now, which is finding an accommodation with the Muslim world, finding a way for the West and the Muslim world to co-exist, unquestionably Turkey has stepped up time and time again, whether it is their relations with Israel, whether it is their support, as was mentioned, for our actions against Iraq after the first war, stepped up and been a bridge across that world, and that is an incredibly important bridge that I don't want to lightly tear down. I think we need to maintain that relationship and build toward reconciliation on this issue.

And I also want to deal with the genocide issue. And before I say anything on this, I am not an expert on it, I don't want to say definitively exactly what it is. I do want to say two things. One, what happened to the Armenians was horrific. And first of all, nobody is denying that; those of us who are voting against this resolution are not denying that. And to my knowledge nobody is denying that what happened to Armenia in the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1923 was a truly horrible crime against humanity, no doubt about that. Like I said, I think it is best if we find a way to resolve

it. And as Representative Meeks I think pointed out quite well, they are far from alone in committing such crimes.

But the question is, is it a genocide? And I think someone mentioned earlier that we can resolve that in report language. It seems to me like it is a pretty important term to be throwing around without making exactly sure of what we are saying.

What happened in the Holocaust, Adolf Hitler wanted to exterminate every single Jew on the planet, and that was all that he did, and that was a genocide. So I think before we use that term we need to be absolutely certain about it. And I do worry about that, and that is one of my concerns in this resolution. There are truly horrific crimes against humanity of enormous magnitude that would not be called genocides. I think we need to make sure that we are using the term appropriately. But more than anything, I want to see this resolved, not because the United States is an ally of both Armenia and Turkey, but because it is very important for Armenia and Turkey to do it in a peaceable way that is to both of their agreement, and steps are being taken.

So I hope that reconciliation process will go forward, and I vote against this resolution primarily because I don't see it as being helpful for that. On the contrary, I think it would only exacerbate the problem and make it worse and drive that wedge further in.

I yield back my time.

Chairman HYDE. Ms. Berkley of Nevada.

Ms. BERKLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be supporting both of these resolutions, and before I yield my time to Congressman Schiff I would like to say a few words.

There are some people that actually say that the Holocaust never happened, but the Holocaust did happen. And whether or not these Holocaust deniers acknowledge it, it doesn't make six million Jews, one million of them children, any less dead. And the fact that every Armenian wasn't slaughtered doesn't mean that that wasn't the intention of the Ottoman Empire because the fact that Hitler wasn't able to exterminate every Jew doesn't mean that wasn't his intention and that that wasn't a genocide.

The reason this resolution comes up year after year is because this Congress fails to act upon it. This is an open wound for our American Armenian fellow citizens. Our fellow citizens are coming to Congress to redress their grievance, and I am prepared to do that today.

There is nothing—I agree with Congressman Smith. I would like to see a reconciliation. I would like to see a coming together, and there is nothing in either one of these resolutions that would prohibit that from happening. If there is to be reconciliation, so be it, let it move forward. That doesn't take away from what we are doing today, what we should have done years ago to get this behind us.

At this point I will yield the balance of my time to Congressman Schiff. Thank you.

Mr. SCHIFF. I thank the gentlelady for yielding, and I would like to in the time remaining address some of the arguments that were made on the other side.

There are principally three arguments: One, that there is somehow an open question about whether this is genocide; two, does

this somehow impede an initiative by the Government of Turkey to bring closure; and three, what will this do to our relationship with Turkey?

First, as to the genocide, Rafael Lemkin, who was involved, really coined the term “genocide” in 1944, was the earliest proponent of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as the definitive example of genocide in the 20th century. Indeed, the first resolution on genocide adopted by the U.N. At Lemkin’s urging in 1946 was one that recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of crime that the U.N. Intended to prevent and punish by codifying existing standards.

As Mr. Menendez pointed out, among the historians there is no dispute about this. And indeed, probably it will come as no surprise, the weakest arguments we have heard here today have been based on the facts. There is really no debate about the facts.

So what about this supposed initiative by the Government of Turkey to extend a branch to Armenia? Well, let’s look at the facts. A group of Turkish historians organized a conference in June of this year at Bosphorus University in Istanbul to talk about the genocide, and you know what happened? The Justice Minister of Turkey took to the floor of Parliament and denounced them as traitors. This is a man who has the authority to prosecute people, as indeed they are doing now with the case of Orhan Pamuk, the novelist who raised this issue. And not surprising, when the Justice Minister, who has the power to prosecute people for being traitors, called the organizers of this conference traitors, the conference was canceled. Where was the initiative of the Turkish Government then? Or when the government decided to charge Orhan Pamuk, Turkey’s most famous novelist, for talking about the murder of a million Armenians, where was the Turkish Government then?

Indeed, there are promising signs among individual Turkish scholars, but the government has been part of the problem, not part of the solution.

Finally, what about the argument about the effect on the United States-Turkey relationship? As my colleagues have pointed out, in March 2003, only 3 weeks before the coalition invaded Iraq, the Turkish Parliament rejected a resolution authorizing the deployment of United States forces to Turkey—

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman’s time has expired. Mr. Engel of New York.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will support the legislation, as I have in the past. I want to state, though, that one of the things that seems to be happening here is we are mixing the relations between the United States and Turkey with what happened to the Armenians many, many years ago. I don’t think they should be mixed. I think that the United States and Turkey are allies and share a strong relationship, and there are many, many things that Turkey is doing to promote freedom and lessen tension in the Middle East that I appreciate, and I think that all of us appreciate. And I think that that needs to be said because I don’t think that we are here to demonize a country that has been a strong supporter of the United States and a strong supporter of peace in the Middle East.

However, we really need to also come to grips with reality, and the reality is that this April marked the 90th year anniversary of the attempted annihilation of the Armenian race that occurred in the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923. And it has been said many times, but I will repeat it, one and a half million Armenians were killed and over half a million more survivors were exiled. The majority of Americans of Armenian ancestry come from families who survived the genocide, and there are still a small number of survivors today who live in the United States and who call upon us to remember and learn from this crime against humanity and to fight against attempts to suppress the teaching of this history in our country and abroad.

The U.S. National Archives is replete with thousands of pages documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people, including numerous American diplomatic eyewitnesses. This Committee has already heard that the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during the Armenian Genocide, Henry Morgenthau, cabled the Department of State on July 16, 1915 stating that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

In 1981, President Reagan issued a Presidential proclamation recognizing genocide. In 1975, 1984 and 2000, the full House of Representatives passed resolutions commemorating the Armenian Genocide. There is also a growing international trend to acknowledge it as well.

The European Parliament resolved that Turkey must come to terms with the Ottoman genocidal legacy as part of its European Union accession process, yet more progress remains to occur. As recently reported by the Washington Post, New York Times and Wall Street Journal, Orhan Pamuk, renowned Turkish novelist, is now being prosecuted for simply stating that one million Armenians were killed. He faces 3 years in jail.

This legislation, I believe, will ultimately promote regional stability because Turkey, by coming to terms with the Armenian Genocide, puts it behind it and it will remove a source of regional tension, lessening the level of distrust and opening the door to the normalization of relations with Armenia.

Many of the tactics that were employed by the Ottoman Empire are now being used in Darfur today. I think it is important that we recognize this, and I think it is important that we continue to fight against this sort of thing and if not the U.S. Congress, who then will do it?

So I think in conclusion we really must pass this legislation because it is the right thing to do. We remember the genocide for the same reasons we remember other genocides that took place in this century, the past century and the century before that, and in fact at all times. We must never forget to ensure that such wrongs do not happen again in the future, and that is why we need to acknowledge the past. I really hope that Turkey can do this, can step forward and can put this behind them, because as I said in the opening of my statement, United States-Turkish relations—we haven't agreed on everything, but Turkey is a democracy and so is the United States and from time to time there will be disagreements, but I think that both countries cherish the relationship that

we have as allies, and I think in the long run that Turkey's acknowledgement of this will help Turkey in many, many ways.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Berman of California.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Many of the previous speakers who support this resolution, as I do, have spoken with great knowledge and with eloquence about the historical circumstances that led us to support this resolution.

Abe Lincoln used to tell the story, when asked if you call a sheep's tail a leg, how many legs does a sheep have, and Lincoln would say four because calling a tail a leg doesn't make it one. The fact that so many Turkish people and the Turkish Government and the representatives of the Turkish Government say that our support for this resolution is a slap in the face to Turkey doesn't make it one. One can feel very strongly about the importance of our relationship, understand the tremendous role Turkey has played in its alliance with the United States, that what Turkey has accomplished internally, it has moved to greater and greater democracy, transparency, its efforts to deal with some of the serious human rights problems that have occurred in the past, and the conflicts and tensions which it faces now and support them in the resolution of those conflicts and tensions, and still support this resolution. Support of this resolution is not a rejection of Turkish interests or an attack on that relationship.

I am going to support the resolution. I am going to yield the balance of my time so he can finish his point to a gentleman who I think deserves tremendous congratulations for his doggedness in pushing and researching and understanding and speaking on behalf of this issue, the gentleman from California, Mr. Schiff.

Mr. SCHIFF. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and really the gentleman's remarks get to the gravamen of the opposition that we have heard in the Committee and that this will somehow be an irreparable breach with Turkey. I don't think that is the case, and I congratulate my colleague for his observations.

Our long-standing relationship with Turkey is vital to our interests. Turkey's strategic location, its membership in NATO make it a particularly valuable ally at this time in history. But my point in going through some of the facts of Turkey's decision, its vote in its Parliament against allowing the deployment of United States forces to the open northern front in Iraq is this—and I want to remind Members how hard the Administration engaged in diplomacy to gain Turkey's support for that second front, which would have made the job of our troops a lot easier. That was rejected, and that at the time produced a temporary rift in our relationship. But despite the importance of that to the United States, relations with Ankara have survived. That is my point, not that we should punish Turkey, but that our relationship has survived. And why has it survived? Because there is a mutual interest that transcended even that interest of the United States.

Look, this is a country where the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission in the Turkish Government has condemned the United States for genocide in Iraq, and this is the country we are concerned about acknowledging the murder of a million and a half people.

Our relationship with Turkey will go on, but it has to go on on the basis of a mutual respect. It has to go on on the basis of a common recognition of the historic facts. There is no real doubt about those historic facts, and I think that our equivocation in the face of a murder of a million and a half people impairs our ability to stand as a moral authority around the world.

I heard none of the arguments against recognition of Darfur as genocide, and all of the arguments could have been made except one, that it would breach our relationship with an important ally of Sudan. All of the other arguments, well, we don't really know exactly all the facts, well, not all the people were killed, all those arguments could have been made with Darfur but they haven't.

The reality is there is only one argument against this resolution and it is the opposition of the Turkish Government. But the European Union has acknowledged this. Is that causing an irreparable rift? No. Turkey is trying desperately to become a member of that same organization that has the willingness to recognize the facts of the genocide.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman's time has again expired.

Mr. Rohrabacher of California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I have been listening to the various speakers today. I think many—I would like to congratulate the leadership, but also my fellow Members on the way this debate has been conducted, and points that need to be made have been made. I especially would like to just say that the remarks from our colleague from Florida, talking about how important Turkey has been to us in the past.

It struck home with me in the sense that in my lifetime Turkey has played such an important positive role for the people of the United States. My father fought in Korea, and the Turkish Government, Turkish people were with us in Korea. They supported our efforts during the Cold War. U2s took off from Turkey in order to cross over to the Soviet to give us information before we had satellites that could give us that information during the Cold War.

During the time when Saddam Hussein was in power after the first Gulf War, Turkey did provide us the base that was necessary for us to maintain the protection of the no-fly zone that permitted the Kurds to have a relative period of time of peace. Even though the Turkish Government thought that that might be against their own interest, they looked at the interest of the whole region and took that into perspective.

So as we vote on this, we are not voting—those of us who will be supporting both of these resolutions, which I will, and as Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Schiff have done a great job in making sure they talk about the crimes of the Ottoman Empire being recognized by the current Government of Turkey, which is the right way to put it, no matter how good a friend you have it does not behoove us to overlook certain facts. And with Mr. Burton's comments in mind as well, let me note that what Mr. Burton said does not eliminate the fact that a million or more innocent civilians were massacred by Turkish troops during the time period that we are talking about. And whether you call that massacre a genocide or not, it was a crime against humanity and a crime against the Armenian people.

So today let us vote to treat a friend as a friend, being frank and truthful with that friend, and hope that the Turkish people do not take offense at the fact that we are being honest about it, and they should be honest as well.

One last note, by not being honest in the past we have given the Turkish people a way not to admit the truth, and then you end up having things happen like the jailing of Orhan Pamuk, who Mr. Royce mentioned earlier on. This is not a good trend, and we should never ever accept that a novelist, a writer is being arrested in Turkey. And what is he being arrested for? Because he is exposing or at least wanting to discuss openly this crime that we are talking about today. Well, we should be on the side of that writer, and we should be on the side of truth, and the truth is that at least a million people, civilians, were massacred, and we need to recognize that and have the Turks recognize that and then move on.

Mr. SCHIFF. Would the gentleman yield for 30 seconds?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I certainly will.

Mr. SCHIFF. I thank my colleague very much for his comments. I was only going to say—and I didn't know which way my colleague was going to comment on this—if necessary I was going to bring this out and ask what would Ronald Reagan do, given the choice between a clear, moral, declarative statement and the possibility of offending even an ally, but you probably know the answer. In April 1981, President Reagan said, like the genocide of the Armenians before it and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it, and like too many such other persecutions of too many other peoples, the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

And I yield back to the gentleman.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes. President Reagan stood on principle, and he had some good speech writers.

So anyway, let me note that it is always good to base your policies on truth and principle. Ronald Reagan did that and ended the Cold War. The Turks were with us in the Cold War. Let's not forget that, but that doesn't negate the truth that we are acknowledging today. So I will be voting for both of the resolutions.

Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Schiff, thank you very much.

Chairman HYDE. Ms. Watson of California.

Ms. WATSON. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

This debate is not about whether or not Turkey is a loyal and valuable ally. Of course they are. This is not about Turkey. This is about the United States. So I can associate myself with some of the remarks that Congressman Meeks made.

This is about whether we as Americans are going to officially acknowledge one of the most heinous crimes the world has ever known. 1.5 million Armenians were murdered in an organized, systematic fashion. This is about a documented fact, and there is no way that you can erase that factual history. And denying it, even by failing to call it what it is, genocide, is a disservice to the United States of America.

We recognize the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein in Iraq and invaded a sovereign nation because of them. We did not find any weapons of mass destruction, originally the impetus for going in, but we did take a horrendous, murderous leader down. So

America, this Committee, this Congress has a moral imperative to support these two resolutions.

I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. I thank the gentlelady.

We have a reporting quorum, so I would urge prayerfully the Members to be succinct and brief, although I only have—I have three more that want to talk, and I appeal to your sense of proportion.

Mr. Sherman of California.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I will support both resolutions. Mr. Schiff—I recognize the leadership of Mr. Radanovich on this issue, and I want to take the opportunity to recognize Adam Schiff's leadership and tireless work on behalf of recognizing the first genocide of the 20th century.

Ignoring genocide begets genocide. The words of Adolf Hitler have been quoted in this room when he emboldens those around him to commit genocide by saying who remembers the Armenians. Ignoring genocide is the last act of a genocide. Genocide destroys a people, destroys their memory, and then the denial expunges the memory of the expungement.

It is an act of friendship to the people of Turkey that we pass these resolutions because by recognizing a country's past it can build for the future. Where would modern Germany be if it was ruled by a government denying the Holocaust?

As Mr. Meeks pointed out, we in our own country have some terrible things in our past. We improve America when we recognize the outrages of slavery. And as to the issue of genocide, let's face it, our treatment of certain Native American peoples adds up to genocide of those individual peoples and tribes. Where would we be as a country if we denied our past? And obviously acknowledging our past can only make us better.

United States is in a unique position in the world as the world's only superpower. Human nature being what it is, when one superpower—when there is only one superpower, there is a tendency of the rest of humanity or the rest of the people within the region to get together and try to knock off whoever is on top of the hill. It is only a country that has the respect of the world that will be allowed to continue as the world's only superpower, and only a country that bases its decisions on truth rather than on political expediency can enjoy world leadership for very long.

Now, we are told that Turkey is an ally and therefore we should defeat this resolution. Let me put forward a hypothetical. What if some future Government of Germany continues to be an ally of the United States, a very valuable ally, a richer country than Turkey is ever likely to be, but insists that we tear down the Holocaust Museum here in Washington because they have changed their view of history? Clearly that would be wrong for Germany and it would be wrong for the United States.

Whether it is the biggest economy in Europe or whether it is a strategically placed Mediterranean country, no country should tell the United States to ignore genocide whenever it has occurred.

Now our relationship with Turkey is complex. Mr. Lantos and Mr. Schiff have pointed out some of the actions of the Turkish Government that have been harmful to us, and I would point out not

only did Turkey not allow our troops to go through their territory to go into Iraq from the north but they kept us in a position with a 4th Infantry Division who was sitting off the Turkish coast, not deployed from the north, not deployed from the south, and that was our best division. Had we established law and order in Baghdad and other places initially, who knows whether we would face the difficulties we face today.

But Mr. Wexler has pointed out some of the positive aspects of Turkey's behavior in the past, and then he told us, and I think he showed some real wisdom in this, that we need to be balanced in our view of our relationship with Turkey, recognize when they have been helpful, and—if I jotted his words down correctly—criticize Turkey when they have done something wrong.

Well, it is time for us to criticize the Ottoman Empire for its first genocide of the 20th century. That is why we ought to pass these two resolutions. But it is not enough to pass the resolutions out of the Committee. We have done that before. We have got to bring the resolutions to the Floor. In this room, in solemn terms for 9 years now I voted for resolution after resolution, applauding democracy in this country, condemning an absence of democracy in that country, demanding democracy, and those resolutions, whether they be in Africa or Asia or Latin America, regardless of the particular country involved, all of those resolutions will ring hollow unless we practice democracy as to these two resolutions.

Chairman HYDE. The gentleman's time is expired.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is why I would hope that we bring these to the Floor in regular order and not as a suspension. I yield back.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Fortenberry of Nebraska.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As a new Member of Congress, you are very often in a difficult position of responding to the past in a framework that you did not create, and without having prepared remarks at the beginning of the hearing, nonetheless I am compelled to speak.

I have listened very carefully to the debate here. Many good points have been made on both sides, and I leave myself with asking the simple question: What will help heal the situation? What will help acknowledge the horrors of the past, but leave us with the hope of reconciliation for the future? What is most prudential? Do these resolutions potentially drive a further wedge between the two groups and us or not? Those are very hard questions, and I think there has been very good debate on both sides.

I do think that there been one consideration that has not been mentioned. We considered these two resolutions together, but they have subtle distinctions. The first is a more aggressive public pronouncement that externalizes this issue in a way that may be disruptive.

The spirit of the second resolution, however, is to sensitize our own foreign policy dispositions regarding the historical events in Armenia, and that certainly may be helpful. This is a distinction with a difference. Thank you.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Cardoza of California.

Mr. CARDOZA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be very brief.

As your admonition rings true to me, I don't think we will be changing anyone's minds here today at this point. I certainly would

be remiss if I did not associate myself with the comments of my colleagues who support these resolutions. I voted for these resolutions in the past as a member of the California Legislature when we did pass these resolutions off the floor.

There are two points I would like to make. One of my colleagues said earlier in the debate there was atrocities on both sides. I would submit to you that there may or may not have been atrocities on both sides, but it is inexplicable to me how you do not denounce evil and the evil of genocide on every occasion when it becomes known to you.

The second point is there is a number of Members of the Committee have talked about our relationship with Germany and our positive relationship, similarly, with Turkey. I don't dispute that we have a positive relationship with Turkey, but during the Cold War, we did not shrink from the fact of denouncing Hitler's genocide, even though West Germany was our ally. In the same way we should not shrink from being able to tell the truth now. And as I look into the faces of some of the survivors who are here with us today, it reminds me of my grandmother, and my grandmother used to tell me as a small child, never fear from telling the truth. And today this Committee ought to speak the truth and vote for the resolutions.

I would like to thank Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Schiff for their leadership.

Chairman HYDE. I thank the gentleman.

We are down——

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Chairman, I just have a quick—Wexler. I just have a quick unanimous consent——

Chairman HYDE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If I could get unanimous consent to submit a statement by the Ambassador of Turkey, Ambassador Logoglu, dated September 15 for the record?

Chairman HYDE. Without objection, so ordered.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Logoglu follows:]

September 15, 2005

**STATEMENT BY O. FARUK LOĞOĞLU
TURKISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES
ON H.RES.316 AND H.CON.RES.195**

The International Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives is once again taking up legislation on the Armenian allegations of genocide. The efforts to put the U.S. Congress in a position where it has to pronounce itself on events that transpired in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th Century have become a perennial phenomenon. What is new now is that the current effort comes at a time when Turkey has embarked on a multi-pronged effort to engage the Armenian side in an open and sincere dialogue on this and other issues.

Earlier this year, Prime Minister Erdoğan extended a hand of reconciliation to the President of Armenia, seeking a mutual understanding on this very issue. This initiative aims to establish a joint group consisting of historians and other experts to study, using all the relevant archives, the developments and events of 1915, the results of which will be shared with the international community. Prime Minister Erdoğan's initiative continues to be an unprecedented step in creating an open, introspective and result-oriented dialogue between Turks and Armenians.

Additionally, throughout the course of the last couple of years our scholars have tried to sit down with Armenian colleagues. Turkish leaders and officials meet with their counterparts from Armenia. Even third parties in the United States and Europe have worked to bring together Turks and Armenians to discuss their past. Also, a vibrant debate has begun in Turkey on this issue, involving politicians, academicians and celebrities, which has been widely covered by Turkish and international media. A major academic conference is to be held on this issue in the Boğaziçi University just next week.

There is no question that the events in question evoke very sad memories for both Turks and Armenians. While it is important to recognize the tragedies that befell all the innocent peoples in the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion or creed, we must also not let our as yet unreconciled views of a specific era dictate our present or our future. Indeed, our history is also replete with centuries of friendship, fraternity and mutual respect between Turks and Armenians.

It is only through a process of open and honest dialogue that the two peoples can mutually address the events that have haunted them both and plagued their relations. This is what Turkey is working to establish.

Chairman HYDE. Mr. Schiff has negotiated another minute, and so I hope he was serious about that and is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. SCHIFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I won't take more than that.

I want to begin by thanking you and the Ranking Member for, again, your willingness to have this markup knowing it would not be easy for any of us. And I just want to conclude with some of the thoughts expressed by Winston Churchill in his history, *The World Crisis*.

In 1915, the Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous general massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. The clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act on a scale so great could well be. It is supposed that about 1¼ millions of Armenians were involved, of whom more than half perished. There is no reasonable doubt that this crime was planned and executed for political reasons. The opportunity presented itself for clearing Turkish soil of a Christian race. The Armenian people emerged from the Great War scattered, extirpated in many districts, and reduced, due to massacre, losses of war and forced deportations adopted as an easy system of killing, by at least a third. Out of a community of about 2½ millions, three-quarters of a million men, women and children had perished. But surely this was the end.

Tragically, this has not been the case. As Elie Wiesel has observed, the denial of genocide is the second injury. And one need ask no more than the Armenian community in the United States what the trauma of that second injury of denial has meant to them.

I thank my colleagues for their debate, and I urge their support of both resolutions.

Chairman HYDE. I thank the gentleman.

The time for debate has expired. I have waited until this point before making any comments on the bills before us, and I have thought very long and hard, and I have been pulled in both directions by the eloquence of the arguments. I have been very proud of this Committee. I have never heard an assemblage of clear thinking, well expressed, with passion, and sincerity, and that is why this is a great Committee. And I just wanted to say that.

The overriding purpose of your work and my work in Congress is to promote the interests of the United States. The argument has been made that these resolutions, if adopted, will be harmful to those interests by undermining our relationship with Turkey. This is a serious charge and worthy of serious attention. I very much believe the relationship is of great importance to us and the possibility of peace and stability in the volatile regions that Turkey borders, but I don't believe these resolutions will harm that relationship. They merely recognize the fact that the authorities of the Ottoman Empire deliberately slaughtered the majority of the Armenian community in that empire. Denial of that fact cannot be justified on the basis of expediency or fear that speaking the truth will do us harm.

Having said this, I want to strongly emphasize neither the Republic of Turkey nor the Turkish people bear responsibility for the crimes that undoubtedly took place. Too often, that inaccurate and

even slanderous association is made by accident or design, and we must be careful not to give it credence.

I also want to note and commend the Turkish Government's recent initiatives to address this issue more forthrightly than has been the practice in the past. These are encouraging signs, and I hope they are but the first in a series of mutual steps.

It is commonly supposed that we must choose between recognizing the fact of the massacres and supporting our relationship with Turkey, that somehow these things are opposed to one another. I believe that view is profoundly incorrect, and it is actually harmful to all the parties.

The deep animosity between Turkey and Armenia is destructive to the interests of both countries, as well as to those of the United States, for they make lasting peace and stability in the Caucasus virtually impossible. The many barriers between them tower so mightily, they are dispiriting to all but the most resolute. However, this particular issue is of such profound importance and emotional resonance to both countries, I don't believe either alone can take the steps needed to overcome its impregnable walls.

But to freeze attention on the past is to be imprisoned by it at the enormous cost of sacrificing the future. Therefore, I believe it is in the interests of the United States and of Turkey and Armenia that we take the lead with dealing with this paralyzing legacy, and we must start with a recognition of the truth, for there is no possibility that this problem can ever be overcome if we seek to ground any solution on silence and forgetting. For as our Lord is quoted as saying in the book of St. John, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free."

That is why I will vote to support these resolutions and do so in the hope that it will contribute to a lasting peace among the peoples of these ancient, tragic and beautiful lands.

The question occurs, on the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H. Con. Res. 195 as amended. All those in favor, say aye.

Opposed, say no. No.

The ayes have it.

And the Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution, H. Con. Res. 195, be reported as amended by the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. LANTOS. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HYDE. All those in favor, say aye. Aye.

Opposed, nay. No.

The ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted—

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Chairman, on that I request, the ayes—the yeas and nays.

Chairman HYDE. Clerk will call the role.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Leach.

Mr. LEACH. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Leach votes yes.

Mr. Smith of New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith votes yes.

Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Burton votes no.
 Mr. Gallegly.
 Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Gallegly votes yes.
 Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
 Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen votes yes.
 Mr. Rohrabacher.
 Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Rohrabacher votes yes.
 Mr. Royce.
 Mr. ROYCE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Royce votes yes.
 Mr. King.
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chabot.
 Mr. CHABOT. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chabot votes yes.
 Mr. Tancredo.
 Mr. TANCREDO. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tancredo votes no.
 Mr. Paul.
 Mr. PAUL. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Paul votes no.
 Mr. Issa.
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake.
 Mr. FLAKE. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake votes no.
 Mrs. Davis.
 Mrs. DAVIS. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mrs. Davis votes yes.
 Mr. Green.
 Mr. GREEN. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green votes yes.
 Mr. Weller.
 Mr. WELLER. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Weller votes yes.
 Mr. Pence.
 Mr. PENCE. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Pence votes yes.
 Mr. McCotter.
 Mr. MCCOTTER. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. McCotter votes yes.
 Ms. Harris.
 Ms. HARRIS. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Harris votes yes.
 Mr. Wilson.
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman.
 Mr. BOOZMAN. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman votes yes.
 Mr. Barrett.
 Mr. BARRETT. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Barrett votes no.
Mr. Mack.
Mr. MACK. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Mack votes yes.
Mr. Fortenberry.
Mr. FORTENBERRY. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortenberry votes no.
Mr. McCaul.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe.
Mr. POE. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe votes no.
Mr. Lantos.
Mr. LANTOS. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Lantos votes yes.
Mr. Berman.
Mr. BERMAN. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Berman votes yes.
Mr. Ackerman.
Mr. ACKERMAN. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ackerman votes yes.
Mr. Faleomavaega.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Menendez.
Mr. MENENDEZ. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Menendez votes yes.
Mr. Brown.
Mr. BROWN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Brown votes yes.
Mr. Sherman.
Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sherman votes yes.
Mr. Wexler.
Mr. WEXLER. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wexler votes no.
Mr. Engel.
Mr. ENGEL. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Engel votes yes.
Mr. Delahunt.
Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Delahunt votes yes.
Mr. Meeks.
Mr. MEEKS. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks votes yes.
Ms. Lee.
Ms. LEE. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Lee votes yes.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Crowley votes yes.
Mr. Blumenauer.
Mr. BLUMENAUER. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Blumenauer votes yes.
 Ms. Berkley.
 Ms. BERKLEY. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Berkley votes yes.
 Mrs. Napolitano.
 Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Napolitano votes yes.
 Mr. Schiff.
 Mr. SCHIFF. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Schiff votes yes.
 Ms. Watson.
 Ms. WATSON. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson votes yes.
 Mr. Smith of Washington.
 Mr. SMITH OF WASHINGTON. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith of Washington votes no.
 Ms. McCollum.
 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. McCollum votes yes.
 Mr. Chandler.
 Mr. CHANDLER. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chandler votes no.
 Mr. Cardoza.
 Mr. CARDOZA. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Cardoza votes yes.
 Chairman Hyde.
 Chairman HYDE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Chairman Hyde votes yes.
 Chairman HYDE. Does anyone wish to change their vote? Mr. Issa?
 Mr. ISSA. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Issa votes yes.
 Mr. Boozman.
 Chairman HYDE. Anybody else?
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman.
 Chairman HYDE. Mr. Boozman, you change your vote to no?
 Mr. BOOZMAN. Yes.
 Chairman HYDE. Mr. Wilson has not voted yet.
 Mr. Wilson would like to vote yes.
 Are there any other changes? If not, the Clerk will announce the rollcall.
 Ms. RUSH. On this vote there are 35 yeses and 11 noes.
 Chairman HYDE. And the motion is adopted.
 The Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution, H. Res. 316, be reported to the House.
 Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Mr. Chairman, I move the Committee report H. Res. 316 favorably to the House.
 Chairman HYDE. All right. The question occurs on the motion to report the resolution favorably as amended. All in favor, say aye.
 Aye.
 Chairman HYDE. Opposed, nay. No.
 The ayes have it, and the——
 Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, I ask for recorded vote.

Chairman HYDE. Who is? Mr. Smith. The clerk will call the roll.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Leach.

Mr. LEACH. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Leach votes yes.

Mr. Smith of New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith of New Jersey votes yes.

Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Burton votes no.

Mr. Gallegly.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Gallegly votes yes.

Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen votes yes.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Rohrabacher votes yes.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Royce votes yes.

Mr. King.

[No response.]

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chabot.

Mr. CHABOT. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chabot votes yes.

Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tancredo votes yes.

Mr. Paul.

Mr. PAUL. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Paul votes no.

Mr. Issa.

Mr. ISSA. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Issa votes yes.

Mr. Flake.

Mr. FLAKE. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake votes no.

Mrs. Davis.

Mrs. DAVIS. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mrs. Davis votes yes.

Mr. Green.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green votes yes.

Mr. Weller.

Mr. WELLER. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Weller votes yes.

Mr. Pence.

Mr. PENCE. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Pence votes yes.

Mr. McCotter.

Mr. MCCOTTER. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. McCotter votes yes.

Ms. Harris.
Ms. HARRIS. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Harris votes yes.
Mr. Wilson.
Mr. WILSON. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wilson votes yes.
Mr. Boozman.
Mr. BOOZMAN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman votes yes.
Mr. Barrett.
Mr. BARRETT. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Barrett votes no.
Mr. Mack.
Mr. MACK. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Mack votes yes.
Mr. Fortenberry.
Mr. FORTENBERRY. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortenberry votes yes.
Mr. McCaul.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe.
Mr. POE. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe votes no.
Mr. Lantos.
Mr. LANTOS. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Lantos votes yes.
Mr. Berman.
Mr. BERMAN. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Berman votes yes.
Mr. Ackerman.
Mr. ACKERMAN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ackerman votes yes.
Mr. Faleomavaega.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne.
Mr. PAYNE. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne votes yes.
Mr. Menendez.
Mr. MENENDEZ. Aye.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Menendez votes yes.
Mr. Brown.
Mr. BROWN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Brown votes yes.
Mr. Sherman.
Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sherman votes yes.
Mr. Wexler.
Mr. WEXLER. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wexler votes no.
Mr. Engel.
Mr. ENGEL. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Engel votes yes.
Mr. Delahunt.
Mr. DELAHUNT. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Delahunt votes yes.
 Mr. Meeks.
 Mr. MEEKS. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks votes yes.
 Ms. Lee.
 Ms. LEE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Lee votes yes.
 Mr. Crowley.
 Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Crowley votes yes.
 Mr. Blumenauer.
 Mr. BLUMENAUER. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Blumenauer votes yes.
 Ms. Berkley.
 Ms. BERKLEY. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Berkley votes yes.
 Mrs. Napolitano.
 Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mrs. Napolitano votes yes.
 Mr. Schiff.
 Mr. SCHIFF. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Schiff votes yes.
 Ms. Watson.
 Ms. WATSON. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson votes yes.
 Mr. Smith of Washington.
 Mr. SMITH OF WASHINGTON. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith of Washington votes no.
 Ms. McCollum.
 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. McCollum votes yes.
 Mr. Chandler.
 Mr. CHANDLER. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chandler votes yes.
 Mr. Cardoza.
 Mr. CARDOZA. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Cardoza votes yes.
 Chairman Hyde.
 Chairman HYDE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Chairman Hyde votes yes.
 On this vote there are 40 yeses and 7 noes.
 Chairman HYDE. The ayes have it. The motion to report as favorably is adopted. And without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming changes.
 And the Committee stands adjourned. Thank you.
 [Whereupon, at 3:45 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH CROWLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

H. CON. RES. 195

- Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for holding this mark up on a very important piece of legislation introduced by Representative Schiff—urging Turkey to recognize the systematic murder of 1.5 million Armenians committed by the Ottoman Empire as genocide.
- This tragic occurrence perpetrated against the Armenian people between 1915 and 1923 by the Ottoman Empire is of great concern to me and members of my constituency.
- Unfortunately, the Turkish government has failed to recognize these brutal atrocities as acts of genocide.
- Even the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau protested the murder of Armenians to the Ottoman Empire. His protest went unheeded.
- Let me repeat, 1.5 million people dead, and more then a million others displaced from their homes.
- The definition of genocide is the systematic, planned annihilation of a racial, political or cultural group.
- I ask—do all the parameters of the definition fit this situation? The answer will always be YES.
- This bill clearly puts the responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the Ottoman Empire—NOT TURKEY.
- I believe that it is not in our foreign policy interests to disrupt the strategic relationship that we maintain with Turkey. That is not the goal of this resolution.
- The goal is, however, to commemorate and honor those who were slaughtered during this campaign.
- I believe that by failing to recognize such barbaric acts, one becomes complicit in them.
- The Turkish government needs to come to terms with the past and work towards improving the future.
- For that reason I am in support and I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of moving this resolution to the House floor.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH CROWLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

H. RES. 316

- Mr. Chairman I would like to thank you for holding this very important Mark up on the Armenian Genocide Resolution introduced by Representative Radanovich
- This hearing shows that the United States is still engaged in resolving a long history of denial, and is still looking to correct how it refers to the Armenian Genocide.
- April 24, 2005 marked the 90th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, when the Ottoman Empire murdered 1.5 million Armenians and exiled over a million others.
- Over a number of years, Congress has attempted to pass the Armenian Genocide Resolution to formally recognize this atrocity as genocide. However, with all the efforts put in, this bill has yet to become law.

- NOW is the time to pass this resolution and send a strong message that crimes against humanity will not be tolerated.
- With many countries already recognizing this event as genocide, I ask why the U.S. is dragging its feet.
- I represent many Armenian-Americans who deserve to have recognition regarding the senseless acts committed by the Ottoman Empire on their ancestors.
- This resolution would call upon the President of the United States to formally recognize the deliberate annihilation of 1.5 million people as genocide and state so in his annual message.
- The Armenian-American community has waited too long to receive justice. This resolution would provide that justice they seek.
- Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I stand with the Armenian-American community and urge my colleagues to approve this resolution for House floor consideration.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY AND VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

H. RES. 409

- Zimbabwe is a nation that even recently was an economic success and example to other nations in Africa. However, the serious mismanagement of that country's economy has reduced Gross National Income to the levels last seen in 1953.
- When the Government of Zimbabwe began its so-called Operation Murambatsvina on May 19th, it was supposed to be a limited operation to end the parallel market, but has developed into the most destructive campaign that country has seen in its post-independence history.
- There are estimates or as many as 700,000 displaced persons during that country's winter months. Approximately 46,000 people have been arrested. More than 300,000 children are unable to attend school due to being displaced or because they have to care for siblings or older relatives in distress.
- By all accounts, this operation has made existing social problems much worse. Non-governmental organization representatives told us there are now two million widows, 1.5 million orphans, 500,000 children with only one surviving parent and 8,000 households headed by children.
- While many still recall Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe's critical role in winning independence for his country, we must hold him accountable for the devastation he has more recently brought upon his country's citizens. Whatever he has achieved in the past, he is furiously undoing his legacy in the present.
- My Subcommittee held a hearing on Zimbabwe's situation and U.S. policy toward that country last April. We were dissatisfied with the state of U.S. engagement. It isn't that the State Department is not working on this issue, but we still lack creative ways to address and resolve this crisis.
- Some Members joined me several weeks ago in writing to Secretary Rice to complain about the slow process of engagement with Congress on finding a solution to this issue. The response we recently received still indicates a failure to think outside the box on this important issue.
- I remain committed to working with my colleagues in Congress and the Administration to come up with a policy that will allow us to end the social, political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe and set this once-prosperous nation back on the road to success.
- I strongly support this resolution and ask my colleagues to join me in voting for House Resolution 409.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BARBARA LEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

H.R. 1409

(Chairman Hyde will ask unanimous consent to consider H.R. 1409 and deem your amendment to be adopted. Once Mr. Hyde has spoken and Mr. Lantos has spoken you should seek recognition to speak on the bill.)

- Mr. Chairman I'm pleased to offer my bill H.R. 1409, The Assistance for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Developing Countries Act of 2005.
- Mr. Chairman we have been working on this bill with you and Ranking Member Lantos and your staffs for over a year and a half now. It is a bipartisan-bicameral

compromise agreement that we have hammered out between ourselves and the Senate, including Senator Lugar and Senator Boxer. And I'm happy to say that the efforts of our staff and the efforts of the many committed advocates and NGO's who support this bill, have gotten us over 120 bipartisan co-sponsors.

- So I want to specifically thank Matt McLean on your staff Mr. Chairman, and Pearl Alice Marsh on your staff Mr. Lantos for their help in putting this bill together. And I also want to thank our advocates and NGO's, including the Global AIDS Alliance, the Elizabeth Glaser Foundation, Save the Children, RESULTS, and the many, many others who helped make this bill a reality.
- Quite simply, H.R. 1409 will better coordinate and address the ever-growing problem of orphans and vulnerable children in the developing world. As of 2004, an estimated 143 million children were living as orphans throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.
- The rapid growth of the HIV/AIDS virus in Africa and throughout the world has dramatically impacted the number of children who are newly becoming orphans. According to UNAIDS today there are over 15 million children living as orphans due to HIV/AIDS, the vast majority living in Sub-Saharan Africa. By 2010 there will be over 25 million.
- Today, every 14 seconds another child is orphaned by AIDS. With parents dying at an alarming rate, children are left without food, shelter, education, or protection. The global orphan crisis is a profound humanitarian disaster that will be felt for decades to come.
- This bill seeks to address the growing global problem of orphans and vulnerable children by providing assistance to support: basic care through the community; school food programs; increased primary school enrollment; employment training; protection of inheritance rights; psychosocial support; and treatment for children living with HIV/AIDS.
- Together, these activities will be overseen by a Special Advisor for Orphans and Vulnerable Children within USAID, a new position which my bill establishes. The Special Advisor will be responsible for coordinating, advising and monitoring the provision of assistance for orphans and vulnerable children and ensuring proper accountability for our programs.
- The amendments to the bill have been made after careful negotiation with the Senate, and would clarify the role of the Special Advisor in focusing specifically on orphans and vulnerable children. At the same time minor changes to the bill would give USAID some flexibility to aggregate data in its reports to Congress rather providing detailed information on each individual grant and program.
- Currently, resources to address the needs of orphans and vulnerable children are spread across various offices and agencies, with a minimum of coordination and coherence. As it stands, the bill would not authorize any new funds to carry out the activities specified in the bill, so it would have a minimal impact, if any, on the treasury. However, it would empower the Special Advisor to ensure that our assistance strategies and budgets consider the needs of orphans and vulnerable children and help make our efforts unified and coherent.
- Let me be clear, these programs, which seek to address some of the root causes of poverty, and economic, and social dislocation, are critical to ensure the health and security of many countries throughout the developing world, and they deserve a substantial increase in funding.
- Many of us on this committee have had the opportunity to travel to Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Europe. Many of us have also seen firsthand the desperation that orphan and vulnerable children are facing. By passing this bill we are taking a small step toward ensuring that these children have a future they can look forward to, instead of past that will haunt them.
- I want to thank you again Mr. Chairman for your commitment to this important issue and I very much want to thank Ranking Member Lantos for his work on this bill, and for the bipartisan spirit in which we have moved this bill forward. I hope that we can continue to work together to quickly move this bill onto the floor so that we can pass it and send it to the Senate where they are waiting to act on it.
- Thank you and I yield back.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BARBARA LEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

H.R. 1973

- Mr. Chairman, I seek recognition.

- Mr. Chairman I just want to congratulate Mr. Blumenauer and his staff for his dedication and commitment to this critical and important issue, and I want to thank you for working with Mr. Blumenauer to bring this bill to committee today.
- As a co-sponsor of H.R. 1973, I am a strong believer in providing clean water and sanitation systems for developing countries to protect public health and reduce the spread of water borne diseases.
- According to a recent report by UNICEF & the World Health Organization, 1.1 billion people worldwide still lack safe water and 2.6 billion have no sanitation. In Africa, only 58 per cent of Africans live within 30 minutes walk of an improved water source and only 36 percent have access to a basic toilet.
- In rural Africa, 19 per cent of women spend more than one hour on each trip to fetch water, a back breaking and exhausting chore that often puts them at risk of abduction or rape, and robs them of other opportunities to work and learn.
- Unsafe water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene habits play a major role in Africa's high child mortality rate. Each year, diarrhea kills over 700,000 children throughout the continent, and contributes to the problem of chronic malnutrition.
- I'm pleased to see that the bill makes a special designation for high priority with the greatest need for clean water and sanitation systems. Many of these countries are in sub-Saharan Africa, and they deserve our strong support.
- I'm also pleased to see that non-governmental organizations will play a critical role in developing and implementing an affordable and equitable safe water and sanitation strategy.
- While the bill also makes a special emphasis to balance funding between urban, periurban, and rural areas in the bill, I believe that we should strengthen the reporting requirements in the bill to stress the need for USAID to report to us on how our money is being split across these areas.
- I look forward to working with my colleague Mr. Blumenauer, and with you Mr. Chairman, to address this issue either in the committee report or a future conference as this bill moves forward.
- I encourage my colleagues to support the bill and I yield back.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BARBARA LEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

H. RES. 316 AND H. CON. RES. 195

Thank you Chairman Hyde and Ranking Member Lantos for bringing these bills, H.Res. 316 and H.Con.Res. 195 for consideration before the Committee.

The Armenian Genocide is one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th Century.

Many political leaders, scholars, and professional organizations are beginning to document the truth so that everyone acknowledges and remembers this devastating event to the Armenian population.

But our government and our foreign policy must also be truthful and acknowledge what we know to be true—that over a million Armenians were murdered and hundreds of thousands of others displaced and deported.

And there are still a great number of survivors of the genocide in America and many of their children and grandchildren reside throughout the country. They deserve this acknowledgement. Healing must begin, and these resolutions are a step forward in that process.

We must never forget the heinous acts that victimized their families. If we let such atrocities be forgotten, then we are in danger of letting them be repeated.

Unfortunately there is a present day genocide occurring by the government of Sudan against the people of Darfur which I too witnessed earlier this year.

We must do all within our power to ensure atrocities like these never happen again. That is why these resolutions are extremely important.

We must call it what it was—genocide. This is the right thing today, regardless of any possible repercussions.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT MENENDEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

H. RES. 388

Thank you, Chairman Hyde and Ranking Member Lantos, for holding this mark-up today. I also want to thank my good friend, Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, for introducing this important piece of legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I wish I could say I was surprised when the Castro regime again arrested members of the Cuban opposition this July. But I wasn't.

In Cuba, every opposition member, human rights activist, or citizen who takes any step towards democracy is deemed a threat to the Cuban regime. These opposition members must live under a constant threat of arrest and persecution for themselves, and their families.

In Cuba, we see a persistent, long-term, calculated, and strategic abuse of human rights aimed at keeping any opposition from succeeding in Cuba.

Cuba remains the only dictatorship in our Hemisphere, and Castro must repress the opposition to stay in power.

In July 2005, Castro arrested 24 human rights activists for simply remembering those who had been killed by the regime in 1994. And he arrested many more later that month who were simply *planning* on attending a peaceful protest—they hadn't even actually attended the event yet.

But this is not the only recent example of Castro's brutal repression. In March 2003, the Cuban regime conducted one of the most repressive and violent actions against dissidents in recent history. We all remember how, with no provocation, 75 political dissidents were subjected to a farcical judicial process and imprisoned for nothing more than expressing a point of view not sanctioned by the Castro regime.

In May of this year, Cuban opposition leaders organized an historic Assembly on the 103rd Anniversary of Cuban independence. When we had the opportunity to recognize that Assembly here in this Committee, I specifically said that we opposed any attempt by the Castro regime to repress or punish the organizers and participants of the Assembly, as Castro has done with so many others who have spoken out against repression.

I also made it clear to the Cuban opposition witnesses in our hearing in the subcommittee in March that we expected no retaliation against them for their work on behalf of freedom or for their participation in our hearing.

Unfortunately, it is my understanding that all three of those witnesses were then arrested during the July crackdown. While Martha Beatriz Roque and Felix Bonne were subsequently released, I believe that Rene Gomez Manzano remains in prison.

Given the recent arrests, I am still deeply concerned for the safety of all those who participated in the May Assembly and those who testified before this Committee.

Hundreds of political prisoners remain in Castro's jails today, and the world has recognized these injustices.

In March 2005, Amnesty International released a report on Cuba called, *Prisoners of conscience: 71 longing for freedom*. In this report, Amnesty states that they believe that, "the charges are politically motivated and disproportionate to the alleged offences" and specifically note reports of ill-treatment and harsh conditions suffered by the prisoners of conscience.

Unfortunately, my friends in the European Union appear to have been deceived by Castro's conditional release of a few prisoners last year. I cannot understand why else they would think there was a reason to soften their diplomatic approach towards Cuba.

Instead of rewarding Cuba for pretending to take steps towards upholding fundamental civil rights, we should call for the *unconditional* release of all political prisoners in Cuba. I certainly hope that the European Union will review its policy towards Cuba, as is called for in this resolution.

And I hope that other multinational organizations, such as the UN Commission on Human Rights join the rest of the world in strongly condemning the most recent crackdown in July by passing a strongly worded resolution against these violations of human and civil liberties, as is also called for in this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, I know Members do not always agree with one another on issues relating to Cuba. And I know that this is, for many of us, a very personal issue.

But I also know that every one of my colleagues should be willing—and proud—to vote for this resolution, which simply states that the gross human rights violations committed by the Cuban regime are abhorrent.

Every one of my colleagues should be willing, and proud, to vote for the right of the Cuban people to exercise fundamental political and civil liberties that we enjoy here in the United States.

To my brothers and sisters who suffer in Castro's jails, to their families and friends both here in the United States and Cuba, and to the Cuban people, I say that Castro will not succeed in his vain attempt to suppress the spirit of the Cuban people. I look forward to the day, which is coming soon, when we will all celebrate a free and democratic Cuba. It is the spirit of the Cuban human rights activists and their courage that will ultimately be Castro's downfall.

So I ask each of you to join me in voting yes for this resolution.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE RADANOVICH, A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Thank you Mr. Chairman for holding this mark up today on two very important resolutions, HRes 316, the Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution and HConRes 195, commemorating the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923.

HRes. 316, the Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide, calls upon the President to ensure that U.S. foreign policy reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the U.S. record relating to the Armenian Genocide and the consequences of the failure to realize a just resolution; and it calls for the President's annual message commemorating the Armenian Genocide to characterize the systematic and deliberate annihilation of 1.5 million Armenians as genocide, and to recall the proud history of U.S. intervention in opposition to the Armenian Genocide.

This legislation is an important initiative in the recognition of horrors and the worst crime against humanity: genocide. Sending this important human rights message will put members of Congress on record as recognizing the Armenian Genocide as we mark the 90th Anniversary of the horrific genocide in Armenia.

The language in HRes 316 is similar to the language that many of you voted for in 2000. The adoption of H. Res. 316 would affirm the proud and groundbreaking chapter in U.S. history to halt the Armenian Genocide, and renew our commitment to prevent other occurrences of man's inhumanity to man. I, along with 140 cosponsors of the resolution, ask for your support in commemorating the Armenian Genocide by voting for this resolution.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

